JUN 13 1952

The German Peril—*An Editorial*

THE *Nation*

June 14, 1952

What Labor Wants

A Symposium on the Campaign

✠

Britain Balks on Korea

BY ANDREW ROTH

✠

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

Lost Weekend

It's really a shame that an unfortunate "break" in the news compelled the President to postpone a weekend visit to the farm of J. Howard McGrath at Great Salt Pond in Rhode Island. The visit had been widely reported as presaging the appointment of McGrath to some high post (not requiring Senate confirmation) and of giving public expression to Truman's unshaken confidence in his former Attorney General. But the testimony of a representative of the General Accounting Office that Clark Clifford, the President's former legal counsel, had received $25,000 for representing a Michigan firm in a civil-fraud suit while McGrath was Attorney General, served to remind the President that Margaret was leaving for Europe on the weekend of his scheduled visit.

The incident will deepen public confusion about the President's relations with McGrath. Is he trying to say that he considers McGrath the innocent victim of a "smear" campaign? Is he sorry that he removed him from the Cabinet? Does he feel that there are acceptable excuses for the failure of the Justice Department to recover more than a pittance of the $500,000,000 or so which the government was overcharged on Korean War contracts? Does he believe that McGrath was vigilant in recovering only $300,000 of more than $21,000,000 which the General Accounting Office contends is owed the government in actual fraud cases, some of which involved the bribery of army officers?

The planned visit suggested that the answer to all these questions is "Yes." In any case, what greater loyalty could the ex-Attorney General have demonstrated than his gallant support of the President in the political crisis of 1948? Let McGrath not despair: the President will probably turn up at Great Salt Pond in due time.

Peronism in Ecuador

Democracy in Latin America met a new defeat in the election of José Maria Velasco Ibarra for the third time as President of Ecuador. Paradoxically, as the star of Perón declines in his own country, Peronism gains ground outside Argentina. In his own right the new President can hardly be tagged with any political label; ideology is not his strong point. Under his first regime, genuine liberals, including Galo Plaza, whom he now succeeds, were able to introduce a new tone in Ecuadorian politics. But each time Velasco Ibarra insisted on playing the dictator and was forced from office by military *coups d'état* carried through in behalf of decency and civil liberties.

Even worse than Velasco Ibarra are some of the groups that helped him win last week's decisive victory over his main opponent, the conservative Dr. Ruperto Alarcón Falconi. The "Concentration of Popular Forces" Party, his main support, is distinctively falangist in nature. Curiously enough, the leader of the People's Force, Mayor Carlos Guevara Moreno, of Guayaquil, fought in the Spanish War on the Loyalist side and made that exploit the springboard of his political career. Being an opportunist, however, he promptly changed sides when the current in Latin America turned in the direction of fascism. President Velasco Ibarra denies any tie with Peronism, but the incident which occurred in Quito, when César Salvador Mazetti, Perón's Ambassador, appeared at a rally to welcome Velasco on his return from exile in Argentina, was an indication of where his present sympathies lie.

The Toronto Six

Will Senators McCarran and McCarthy, having done so much to shut the doors of this country to the East and West, now slam the portals to the North? Recently six members of the Toronto Symphony Orchestra, one a minor, were barred from crossing the border. Only stated reason: "detrimental to the best interests of the United States." Confronted with the alternative of retaining the six players or of canceling scheduled engagements here, the Toronto orchestra dropped the men. The local union supported the orchestra's decision and the sole recourse of the six victims is an appeal to the executive board of the international union.

This seems to us about the most shameful in the growing list of indignities occasioned by the McCarran act and the paranoid policies of the State Department. It is bad enough that six men have been done a grave personal injustice; it is worse that no practical remedy is available. Canadians, apparently, feel the same way: the Toronto *Globe-Mail* (Conservative) and *Daily Star* (Liberal) have published strong editorial condemnation of the injustice done the six musicians. The *Globe-Mail*

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has, in fact, demanded that the Ottawa government not only clear their names but assert the right of entry as essential to the "right to work" and as a right implicit in the passports issued by the Canadian government.

For more than a century the Rush-Bagot Convention has committed the United States and Canada to an "open-door" policy of friendship and amity. Incidents such as that of the Toronto six make it increasingly embarrassing for Americans to speak sneeringly of other countries' "iron curtains."

Civil War in South Africa?

In South Africa today there are the makings of two irrepressible conflicts. On the one hand a vast gulf between the European minority and the native majority has been made almost unbridgeable by discriminatory legislation and repressive administration. And now Dr. Malan's Nationalist Government, reopening old wounds suffered in the long struggle between Boer and Briton, has split the white population in two. It is not racial policy that divides them: both factions believe in white supremacy although they differ about methods for maintaining it. What really disturbs the opposition is the evidence that Dr. Malan, who won the last election on a minority vote, is aiming at one-party rule. His bill to segregate the "colored" vote in Cape Province, held by the Supreme Court to contravene the "entrenched clauses" of the Constitution, is not just an exercise in racial discrimination but a blatant example of gerrymandering which is expected to give the Nationalists six or more Parliamentary seats now held by the opposition.

Determined to secure this advantage before the 1953 elections, the Nationalists have pushed through the High Court of Parliament Act which allows Parliament itself to overrule the Supreme Court in constitutional cases. The legality of this act is to be tested in the courts but it is also being met by a political challenge. Natal, most British of the Union's four provinces, is already talking of secession on the grounds that the Malanites have destroyed the compact on which the Union was founded. If this threat materializes, civil war may easily follow.

The Plight of Sterling

Sterling remains sick despite the medicines prescribed by the Conservative government after it took office last fall. In the first three months of this year the drain of gold and dollars from the sterling-area reserve was slowed down but even so the total was reduced to $1,700,000,000 by March 31 compared to nearly $4,000,000,000 on June 30, 1950. April figures have not yet been published but trade returns for that month indicate a rise in the visible deficit and it is also known that Britain has lost more gold to the European Payments Union.

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It may be that, as Mr. Hugh Gaitskill, former Chancellor of the Exchequer, suggested in a recent speech in Chicago, that gold reserves of the sterling area will soon begin to increase, if they have not already done so, partly because of cuts in dollar imports and partly because delayed payments of United States economic aid are now being made. On the other hand, Britain is clearly finding increased difficulty in expanding exports to the extent necessary if its goal of a favorable balance of payments by the end of this year is to be achieved. It is experiencing growing German and Japanese competition at a time when world demand, at least for consumer goods, is declining. In addition, the sharp fall in prices of such commodities as rubber and tin have seriously reduced the sterling area's dollar-earning capacity.

It is not altogether surprising, therefore, that fears of a new devaluation of the pound should have caused some weakness in both spot and future quotations for sterling. Perhaps these fears are premature, but it begins to look as if new and drastic measures will be necessary to prevent further depletion of the sterling area's reserves in the next few months and to keep the pound at its current ratio to the dollar.

Who Likes Ike Now?

GENERAL EISENHOWER'S political debut at Abilene may have increased his chances of securing the Republican nomination while diminishing his prospects for victory in November. For he revealed a streak of conservatism that can hardly fail both to win over uncommitted right-wingers at Chicago and to repel millions of independent voters whose liking for him has been based on the hope that he would prove to be at least moderately progressive.

Such hopes have been dashed by the mammoth Abilene press conference. On that occasion the General showed once again that he not only had an attractive personality but the ability to project it. He also exhibited marked skill in dodging pertinacious efforts to pin him down on specific issues, without seeming to be evasive. But while a tendency to balance every affirmative statement with a considered "however" appeared to keep him safely in the middle of the road on specific questions, the total effect was to reinforce the growing impression that on domestic matters he is quite as far to the Right as Senator Taft.

Indeed he almost went out of his way to disown the liberal wing of the G. O. P. by declaring, without any prodding, that he was in accord with the general principles of the Republican Declaration of February 6, 1950, which he assumed would be the basis of the 1952 Republican platform. This declaration, drafted by the die-hard Clarence Budington Kelland, was a far more conservative document than the Republican platform of 1948 and was sharply criticized on this ground by liberal Republicans who are today Eisenhower's most enthusiastic supporters. Senator Lodge, for example, condemned it for failing to express determination to enact a civil-rights program and for "extravagance" in describing the issue between the parties as "liberty vs. socialism."

By indorsing this 1950 declaration, the General aligned himself with the conservative wing of the party which he further reassured by reiterating his opposition to "centralization" of power whether in the field of civil rights, medical care, education, conservation, or economic controls. And simultaneously he contrived to dismay many liberal Republicans and independents who know that over-reliance on state responsibility enables the backward states to slow down progress of the whole country and who realize that civil rights have become a burning issue precisely because, by and large, they have been left to the tender mercies of local authorities.

The moral for the Democrats is plain. Whether Eisenhower or Taft is chosen at Chicago, they will be in a position to make the Presidential campaign a clear-cut fight between liberalism and conservatism. This is a fight that can be won provided always that the Democrats select a strong, progressive candidate and give him an unequivocally progressive platform on which to stand—a point made adequately clear in the labor symposium which appears on page 572 of this issue.

The German Peril

UNREPORTED in the American press as far as we know, a little episode in Bonn symbolized the situation created by the new Big Three peace contract with West Germany. The episode occurred just before Acheson, Eden, Schuman, and Adenauer signed the agreement. It was the German chief of protocol who noticed the design on the tapestries hanging in the Upper Chamber of Bonn's parliament. He quickly had them removed because he feared they might cause comment: the scene shown was the Rape of Europa.

The quasi peace treaty with Germany is now before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The hearings were being sped to conclusion this week. Already overladen with unfinished business, the Senate is being asked to ratify the contractual agreement before Congress disperses, presumably before the Republican convention opens in Chicago on July 7. No serious opposition, indeed hardly any pertinent criticism, is expected.

The papers which the Administration sent to the Senate make quite a bundle. They include the general agreement with the Bonn Republic, its three subsidiary conventions, President Truman's accompanying message to Congress, the Three Power declaration issued in Paris after the signing of the European-army treaty on May 27, and a protocol extending the Atlantic Alliance's

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guaranties reciprocally to the European defense community—in fact to Western Germany.

How many Americans are aware of the contents, to say nothing of the implications, of these documents? For that matter, how many of the Senators who will approve them have read and mastered them?

Yet the two agreements, of which the European-army treaty is the other, may take their place in history as a watershed between the second and third world wars. The haste with which the peace contract with the Germans is being railroaded toward ratification contrasts with the great responsibilities it imposes on the American people. For there is little doubt that these commitments perpetuate the partition of Germany and diminish almost to zero the chance of a peaceful understanding with Russia about that country.

In our present political climate a majority of Americans would support the peace contract with Germany even if they were aware of its dangers. After all, the West Germans are now allies against communism, although one may question their dependability. It is likely, however, that if Americans had been informed of all its implications, a much larger and more vocal opposition would have developed. The Defense and State Departments have sold a bill of goods to Congress and to the people. The Administration has presented a wholly one-sided view of its policy.

A few predictions can safely be made:

1. From month to month West Germany will intensify pressure to remove the few remaining restrictions placed on it. In the early period of its rearmament, the German Republic as an "exposed area" will refrain from manufacturing certain heavy weapons like bombers and submarines. Nor will it engage in producing atomic explosives. But the Pentagon intends that within a year after the peace contract and European-army treaty come into force West Germany shall join the Atlantic Alliance. As the Bonn Republic settles into its position as our ally, it will become harder and harder to say "no" to German production of all types of armament.

2. As soon as West Germany has regained its military strength, it will move to end German partition. If that proves impossible by peaceable means, as succeeding German governments grow more nationalistic, an incident near the frontier between East and West Germany may precipitate military action.

3. As long as the bulk and élite of the French army are shackled in Indo-China, it will be difficult to retard the emergence of Germany as the Continent's dominant power.

4. When the Germans form their first divisions, they will contain an important sprinkling of professional soldiers. Despite the two-year conscription system to be introduced, German ex-officers and non-coms will be able to enlist voluntarily. As a result the German armed forces will be readily expandable—as they were in the twenties and thirties.

5. Germany will have a military machine that is close to being a national army. The original French concept of German troops interlarded with those of five other nations has evaporated. Divisions in the European army will be almost independent. The Germans will have their own War Department, bearing a less nostalgic name. German general staff officers will be trained for larger commands. Bonn will have its own supply and maintenance organization. West Germany is no longer playing the reluctant bride; its heart is increasingly back in the military business. According to former French Defense Minister Jules Moch, 175 training centers are already being created in West Germany.

6. We can assume that at least one East German division will be raised to match every division the West Germans put in the field.

7. No one now believes that the condemned German war criminals will serve out their sentences.

On all these aspects of the agreements before the Senate, our State and Defense Departments have remained silent. If they had brought them to the notice of the American people, many would have asked, "Is there no alternative?" The answer is: "There was."

Russia bears a large share of responsibility for the failure to attempt to find a different solution. But we bear a share too.

In 1946 Secretary of State Byrnes proposed a United States-British-French-Soviet pact to disarm and neutralize all Germany for twenty-five or forty years. Moscow was unresponsive. At that time Russian policy was to keep Germany divided. Today Moscow regards a unified Germany as the lesser evil. But the Byrnes offer is dead.

Many European students of Soviet policy believe that until lately Russia was ready to withdraw from Eastern Germany and allow a restoration of capitalism there in return for neutralization of the whole country. As soon as the peace contract and European-army treaty becomes operative, however, Germany's neutralization is ruled out. When that happens, the Russians will no longer be interested in offering concessions on Germany.

Today it is we who have frozen the position by putting West Germany's inclusion in the anti-Soviet alliance ahead of German unification. Where, short of Russia's unconditional surrender, is there now a basis for accord on Germany?

This is the background to the Senate's impending ratification of the German settlement. Few Americans are conscious of the meaning of this act. Fewer still have weighed the liabilities against the assets. But Europeans, while murmuring "We do" at the shotgun wedding, are alive to all these perils. That explains why the master of ceremonies at Bonn quietly whisked away the tapestries displaying the Rape of Europa.

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Confusion on the Coast

WITH the voting in South Dakota and California, the first act of the Presidential campaign is over and the scene now shifts to Chicago. Of the South Dakota primary little more need be said than that the German vote in the rural counties—isolationist and opposed to Eisenhower as the occupier of Germany—gave Senator Taft the slight margin which he appeared to hold at this writing.

The California primary, however, ranks as one of the best political stories of the pre-convention campaign. Inquiries which we have made in California amply confirm Governor Warren's contention that more than $500,000—most of which came from independent oil interests—was poured into the campaign to elect the Republican slate of delegates headed by Representative Thomas H. Werdel of Bakersfield. Backed by certain groups that have developed a morose hatred of Warren, the Werdel delegation received important support from party "regulars" who have long resented the Governor's habit of ignoring them on patronage matters. But the mass base for this strange grudge revolt consisted of a fairly large, rapidly growing, and angry Right: a herd of frenzied, embittered folk, including elements of Vivien Kellems's "Liberty Belles," Associated Farmers, anti-Semites, paranoid haters of the United Nations, tax-resisters, tax-refusers, and Partisan Republicans. This neurotic movement has been growing in California for the last five years and is a phenomenon that warrants close and constant scrutiny. Powerful leadership was provided by John Francis Neylan, a regent of the University of California, who has never forgiven Governor Warren for his stand on the loyalty oath. ("Jack is never so happy," the Governor said, "as when he is spraying venom on somebody. This just happens to be my time to get sprayed.") The delegation pledged to Werdel sponsored meetings at which Taft and MacArthur were loudly applauded and there can be little doubt that the Taftites supported the movement. At one meeting, state Senator Edward H. Tickle, serving as chairman, introduced Jack Smith, a wealthy Southern California oilman, with the remark: "He's a grand guy. He foots the bills for all of us." Throughout the campaign, Governor Warren was denounced as a "New Deal Trumanite" and at one meeting a speaker charged that California was "getting creeping communism under the brand of Warren's socialism." Leaders of the Werdel delegation, which polled more than half a million votes, made it clear that they were against Warren but for Senator William F. Knowland.

On the Democratic side, Senator Kefauver picked up sixty-eight delegates with a minimum investment of energy and funds. The better than 2-to-1 margin by which the so-called "free" delegation was defeated was not unexpected. The day following the Minnesota primary, in which General Eisenhower received an impressive write-in vote, President Truman instructed Attorney General Edmund G. Brown to disband the "official" Democratic delegation. Stunned by this move, the "official" Democrats lost the initiative and for a time it seemed likely that the Kefauver delegation would win by default. Although Mr. Brown was able to reorganize the delegation, little enthusiasm could be generated for a ticket without a candidate. At the last moment, President Truman gave the "free" delegation his informal benediction and dispatched Governor Adlai Stevenson to California to do what he could to save the "official" Democrats, but by then it was too late.

The Kefauver delegates, who will name the next Democratic National Committeeman and Committeewoman, are a highly miscellaneous group. The two most prominent names—they are really the only well-known ones—on the delegation are those of State Senator George Miller, Jr., of Alameda, and John Anson Ford of Los Angeles, long a member of the Board of Supervisors. Both men, incidentally, have fine liberal records. On the other hand, the "free" delegation included nearly every "official" Democratic leader of any prominence. At the last moment, James Roosevelt, National Committeeman, made what a California political observer referred to as "a Roman tandem leap" from the "free" to the Kefauver delegation—as an alternate!

THE most interesting result of the primary was Knowland's sweep of both party nominations. The Senator's backers placed great emphasis in the primary on the theory that if Knowland could win the Democratic nomination he might, with Governor Warren's backing, be an ideal running mate for General Eisenhower. As a Formosa-Firster, which Governor Warren is not, Knowland might be able to win support from Taft delegates. Should Knowland win the vice-presidency, Warren would probably resign and then accept appointment to Knowland's six-year unexpired term from Goodwin J. Knight, who would become Governor. Representative Clinton McKinnon, who opposed Knowland for the Democratic nomination, had almost no campaign funds, received little support from the National Committee, and would appear to have been the sacrificial victim of an off-stage understanding. An analysis of Knowland's Democratic vote indicates that he must have had the support of elements of the Malone machine in San Francisco.

The California primary indicates four things pretty clearly: that the collapse of the New Deal coalition, which began in California in 1944, is now nearly complete; that rank-and-file Democrats have revolted against a system under which the National Committee makes heavy financial levies in a state and then walks off with

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the funds, not caring what happens to the local organization and candidates (a system described by Gifford Phillips, publisher of *Frontier*, as a form of "political colonialism"); that the state cross-filing system has wrought ever-greater havoc with political parties in California (this fall the voters will finally have a chance to modify the system); and that elements of the Malone machine in San Francisco, seriously embarrassed by investigations of the local office of the Bureau of Internal Revenue, have decided that the way to have friends in Washington in 1953 is to support Republican candidates in 1952.

It is pleasant to record, as a footnote, that state Senator Jack B. Tenney was soundly defeated for the Republican nomination in the new 22nd Congressional District. Tenney's defeat would seem to be about the only result of the primary to which California liberals might lift their glasses in salute.

Sober Realism at the U.N.

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

United Nations, New York City

THE Economic and Social Council now meeting in New York does not offer so exciting a performance as the General Assembly during a hot debate or the Security Council when dealing with a "threat to the peace." The ECOSOC handles a long and heavy agenda, covering the work of the United Nations in such fields as economic development and human rights and reviewing the annual reports of the many technical and regional commissions and specialized agencies, some of which have made a remarkable record. But the division of opinion regarding such vital issues as a correct appreciation of the present world economic situation or the dramatic appeals for help from areas where millions suffer utter want, give to these discussions a high political and human value and a key to the many conflicts within the United Nations itself.

Often there is confusion between the U. N. program of technical assistance and the various programs launched by individual nations or groups of nations. But of course these national and international efforts are intimately connected. The announcement by President Truman, in January, 1949, of his grandiose "Point Four" plan acted as a powerful incentive to the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly to work out an extensive U. N. program of technical assistance. In December of the same year the Assembly fully endorsed such a program, based on a study made by the Economic and Social Council during the summer. Its main idea was to help the backward countries to strengthen their economies by developing their own resources, their agriculture, and their industries, and to reach a higher standard of living within the framework of economic and political independence.

The last point was strongly emphasized. Under no circumstances should economic aid be permitted to become an instrument for establishing a new sort of imperialism or foreign domination, especially in an era when the entire colonial system was in process of crumbling to pieces. The most progressive voices in the U. N. insisted that what people in the underdeveloped countries wanted was "to be helped to help themselves" and that the problem called for immense tact, a profound understanding of the mind of the peoples involved, and a determination not to play the role of benefactor in order to bring a recipient country within any given political or strategic area of influence. The long and fascinating controversy in the press and among political parties and groups in India over the issue of economic aid from abroad illustrated better than anything else the dilemma facing all underdeveloped areas: On the one hand, there was a desperate need for assistance; on the other, suspicion and fear lest behind any proffered aid might lurk the intention to influence India's foreign policy, undermine its neutrality, and menace its cherished, newly won freedom.

IN Geneva last September I heard much criticism of American opposition to the establishment of an international development fund. Over this opposition, the majority in the ECOSOC stressed the necessity for this fund. Summarizing the debate in the closing session, even so circumspect a diplomat as the Council's President, Hernan Santa Cruz of Chile, found the courage to declare that the Council had failed to carry out the wish of the General Assembly that it should propose "practical methods to obtain an increased flow of capital for financing the development programs of the underdeveloped countries." It was evident then that the United States delegate, Isidor Lubin, in opposing the development fund, expressed prevailing trends in Washington: first to concentrate all possible effort on financing the rearmament program and, second, to avoid commitments for technical assistance which would be administered through the United Nations. If American money was to be put into underdeveloped countries, Congress preferred

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that it be done, not under the label of United Nations "technical assistance" but under the label of "Point Four," so that the United States would have the final word as to how the aid should be used and could also reap whatever moral and political advantages might come from it. Naturally this attitude was an unpopular one especially among the Asian members of the ECOSOC who complained, on the one hand, about the concentration of aid in Western Europe, mainly for military purposes, to the detriment of the countries of Asia, and on the other, about the reluctance of the United States to act through international instrumentalities. The struggle over the development fund has been resumed in the present session of ECOSOC with the United States still in opposition. But the attitude of the other members has obliged Mr. Lubin to try to correct the bad impression created at Geneva.

LAST Wednesday he assured his colleagues that the fear of economic collapse resulting from rearmament lacked any substantial foundation; the United States, for instance, is doing so well that readjustment would prove far less difficult than at the close of World War II. Second, he argued that a wide variety of plans projected by many agencies with much money behind them assured a great expansion of economic help for underdeveloped areas. The year 1951, he said, had shown an increasing volume of grants and loans, with everybody trying to help: the Colombo plan, formulated by the British Commonwealth countries, offering aid to Southeast Asia; "the generous Norwegian people establishing a public fund for aiding underdeveloped countries"; and the United States continuing its assistance on "an increasing scale." It was a comprehensive and able speech which, though carefully geared to the policy of containment and of "peace through strength," remained sensitively aware of the spirit of revolt and dissatisfaction that characterizes this fourteenth session of the Economic and Social Council. Of course with a Congress busy cutting funds for foreign aid, Mr. Lubin could only deal in generalities as far as future American contributions were concerned; in fact, at the moment he was speaking, $7,500,000 had just been cut from the $24,000,000 appropriation asked by President Truman for the International Children's Fund, one of the best ECOSOC agencies.

Mr. Lubin's optimism was not shared by some of the other speakers. For example, the delegate of Pakistan explained how the prosperity that had smiled on his part of the world as the result of the armaments boom had given way to a grave economic crisis. His views were supported by Pakistan's Foreign Minister, Zafrulla Khan, who said on June 2: "Occasionally policies may be wrong but the world is going through a series of upheavals and trials and unless the attitude is one of cooperation and sympathy, help and assistance, none of us will pull through." Speakers for France, Sweden, and the Philippines also sounded an ominous note.

In general the spirit prevailing in the Council reflects the courageous realism with which Gunnar Myrdal, one of the outstanding personalities in the United Nations and executive secretary of the Economic Commission for Europe, visualizes the world situation and the duties of the organization. Speaking at the closing meeting of the seventh session of the ECE in March of this year at Geneva, Mr. Myrdal bluntly stated that "our committees are gradually being transformed into purely Western bodies—perhaps I should more adequately say non-Eastern-European bodies." His speech implied strong disapproval of the sabotage of attempts to put an end to the present world tension by trying to penetrate the wall between East and West. It is clear that he is not one of those bureaucrats so abundant in the United Nations who easily confound the initials U. N. and U. S., and that if his services are still wanted some positive accomplishment will have to be shown, not by the end of the century but in this year of 1952. As he said in the speech quoted above: "The next months will give the practical answer to the question whether this commission as a working organ of the United Nations will again become the all-European body it was intended to be when it was founded."

MYRDAL has been working hard to find an answer to the basic problem of reaching agreement with Russia in ways which will avoid a general collapse of the Western economy, including that of the United States which is tied so closely to the rearmament program. He believes this can be accomplished only through a great expansion of East-West trade and of development programs all over the world. A man talking and acting as Gunnar Myrdal does, is bound to find obstacles in a United Nations bureaucracy which, as times goes on, shows a spirit closer to that of NATO than of the United Nations. But the ECE and its dynamic Secretary General do not easily give up. They may find some encouragement in the new bid to the Western countries to resume trade with Russia offered by the Soviet delegate Georgi P. Arkadyev, in his speech of last Thursday.

Over the present discussions of the Economic and Social Council hangs the shadow of the worsening world situation. The economists are aware that all the talk about achieving a balance of strength by 1954 which will end tension, encourage East-West trade, permit a shift from arms production to a peace economy and social progress, with more aid to the underdeveloped countries and all the rest, is only a fairy tale to ease the anxiety of average citizens everywhere. Knowing better, the experts do not look for an early return to prosperity under a peace economy. In a time of self-delusion like the present, their sober opinions are worth listening to.

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What Labor Wants: A Symposium

IT HAS become axiomatic that labor—provided it can organize itself for the polls as well as it has in the shops—can swing any Presidential election. This year's will be no exception. In a recent survey, Elmo Roper points out that the trade unionists, together with such of their families as are qualified to vote, represent 28 per cent of the electorate. He emphasizes one further important fact: two of every three labor votes are likely to be cast for the Democratic candidate *"unless Republican candidate popularity or the issues themselves upset this tendency."* (Italics ours.)

What are the issues as labor sees them? In *The Nation* of May 10 Hugo Ernst, general president of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International Union (A. F. of L.), set forth his views in an article which was widely reprinted in the labor press. In the two comments below, *The Nation* extends its sampling of labor opinion. The first is by the president of one of the great A. F. of L. railroad unions; the second is a digest of opinion solicited by *The Nation* from labor spokesmen (both A. F. of L. and C. I. O.) representing nearly all sections of the country.

BY GEORGE M. HARRISON

The Economic Royalists Are Paving the Way to Fascism

THE issue, as I see it, is to check the economic royalists before they bring the world down around our ears. Since Franklin D. Roosevelt's death the moneychangers have been coming back. It's time to stop them. First these economic royalists killed price control, then each year after 1946 they put up their prices—and their profits. In 1949 they took a breather, but in 1950, even before the Korean shooting, they began to build up toward another profits spree. In "peace time" 1951 net corporation profits were double the high-water level of World War II.

The arrogance of the profiteers has known no bounds. Their handymen in Congress wrote a Defense Production Act which put the federal government into the business of buying plants with the people's money and turning them over as a gift to private corporations.

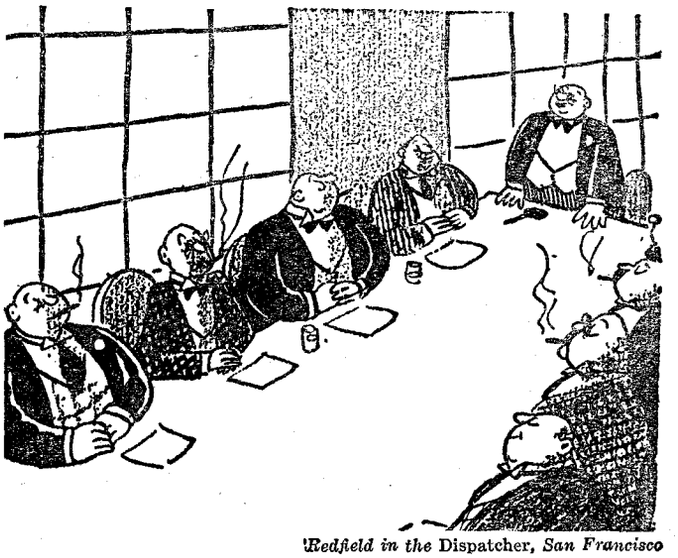
What else does the DPA's "fast write-off" of defense facilities mean? The government has been issuing "certificates of necessity" to one giant corporation after another—allowing them to retain profits, which would otherwise be taxed, to be applied against their capital investment. Where normally a company recovers its investment in twenty to thirty years, under the Defense Production Act many companies can now get their money back in five as "defense essential."

No one questions that a steel mill is a defense essential. So, however, is a steel worker, or a railroad worker who runs the train which carts away the steel, or a clerk who does the bookkeeping, or a restaurant worker who feeds them. But no one gives the worker a free house or car, as the government gives away free plants.

Big business has become so arrogant that the steel industry was ready to provoke a strike to browbeat the government into allowing it five times the price increase it needed to absorb the wage increases recommended by the Wage Stabilization Board.

The issue, as I see it, is to check the economic royalists before their top-heavy profits pile collapses our economic underpinnings. Inflation is already building up toward deflation and a depression. If this is allowed to happen, the result will be disastrous.

Beyond this, big business profiteering is causing our European allies to distrust our motives in calling for rearmament. Our own profiteers have made it possible for the Russians to argue, with increasing effect, that our paramount interest is profits at the expense of the world. Abroad there is growing mistrust. At home, there is



Redfield in the Dispatcher, San Francisco

"Fortunately, while our workers' wages are frozen, our profits are fluid."

GEORGE M. HARRISON, grand president of the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, is one of the most influential leaders of the A. F. of L.

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growing fear that big-business control of our rearmament program may produce a degree of counter-armament that can only end up in war.

The economic royalists need to be curbed because they are driving us toward the totalitarian state. The tremendous economic concentrations brought about by the armaments program can be maintained only through forms of political power which are inconsistent with normal American political life. There must be concentrations of power in the state to match the concentrations of economic power. In other words, the state will take on a fascist form, pretending to serve all the people but actually protecting only the concentrated wealth of the few.

The trend toward the totalitarian state is only too apparent. That this is the way we may be headed is becoming increasingly clear by the restraints being placed on labor. It is in the very nature of organized labor to resist concentrations of economic power. It is in the nature of labor to criticize and to dissent from policies which run counter to the welfare of the people. But criticism, dissent, and the ordinary forms of labor activity will not be tolerated in the totalitarian state. Thus the virulent opposition of big business to the union shop on the railroads and in steel is not at all surprising. Cutting down the strength of labor is one very important step in the direction of controlling it. It is also not surprising to note the restraints being placed on ordinary constitutional liberties because it is within the framework of such liberties alone that free labor can exist.

The economic royalists will, if not restrained, destroy the basis of economic democracy, undermine constitutional liberties, and in so doing give aid and comfort to the forces driving toward war and annihilation.

The issue, as I see it, is to curb the economic royalists and give the country back to the people. And to do so before it is too late!

A SYMPOSIUM

The Planks Labor Wants in the 1952 Platforms

[*The Nation sent a questionnaire to A. F. of L. and C. I. O. leaders in ten states, representing nearly all sections of the country, asking among other things: (1) From labor's point of view, what are the planks indispensable to a winning platform? (2) Can the Democrats win if they retreat from the party's 1948 platform on civil rights or key labor issues, such as the Taft-Hartley Act? Digests of the answers received from each of the labor leaders questioned appear below.*]

FRANK ROSENBLUM, general secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (C. I. O.), New York.

Labor wants effective price controls, including rents; expanded social security, including unemployment compensation based on uniformity of payments among the states; equitable taxation, with more relief for low-income groups and with proper excess-profit taxes; repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act and restoration of provisions of the Wagner Act; adequate housing for low and moderate-income families; national health insurance; federal aid to education; civil-rights legislation to implement constitutional guaranties for all minorities (anti-poll-tax, anti-lynching, and permanent FEPC legislation); repeal of the McCarran and Smith acts and other regulations curtailing the basic rights of individuals and providing for "thought control"; positive efforts toward a resolution of the basic issues involved in international tensions so that the threat of a world war and its consequences will be eliminated.

I believe the Democratic Party's only hope for victory is in a straightforward platform based on these issues. Generally speaking, all American groups except the "special-interest" groups fear the return to power of the Republicans with their present leadership. This was the major reason for the Democratic victory in 1948; it could be the decisive factor again, provided the party platform is forthright and constructive.

BARNEY HOPKINS, secretary-treasurer of the Michigan State C. I. O. Council.

The chief issues are restrictive labor laws, civil rights, monopolistic practices of giant corporations, anti-inflationary measures, farm subsidies and conservation, flood control and public power projects, the Great Lakes seaway, support of the free nations against Communist and fascist aggression, and federal aid to education.

The Democrats have no hope of victory if they retreat from their 1948 platform on civil rights or key labor issues.

JOHN M. EKLUND, American Federation of Teachers (A. F. of L.), Colorado.

Labor is demanding legislation to protect the workers' right to organize, including that of public workers; a foreign policy based on continuation and expansion of Point Four and the full functioning of the United Nations and its agencies; social security, including medical insurance; stable economic policies based on the estab-

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lishment of a fair parity between prices and wages; a parity program for farmers; government reorganization along the lines of the Hoover commission plan, and federal aid for schools.

There is no question but that a strong position against the Taft-Hartley law and for civil rights will enhance Democratic chances for victory.

PAUL C. SPARKS, executive secretary, Texas State Federation of Labor (A. F. of L.).

Labor, I believe, will want planks supporting Point Four, social security, public housing, labor legislation, fair taxation, inflation control, the United Nations, the mutual-security program, and a plank requiring the payment of prevailing wages to contract labor from Mexico.

In my opinion, any retreat from liberal principles might break up the Democratic Party. As for the Taft-Hartley Act, it won't attain full stature as a political issue until there is slack employment and wider use of the law.

ELIZABETH NORD, Textile Workers Union of America (C. I. O.), Rhode Island.

I see the major issues as repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act, full employment with adequate unemployment compensation, price controls, regional development, civil rights, equitable tax policies, and aid to friendly countries. I believe that the national Political Action Committee will submit planks to this effect to the Democratic convention. I think it unlikely that the Democrats can win if they weaken their 1948 platform on civil rights and labor issues.

JAMES F. CHRISTIE, Vermont State C. I. O. Council.

The chief issues are the Taft-Hartley law, a national health-insurance law, public power, FEPC, and civil rights. It is perfectly clear that any backtracking by the Democrats from their 1948 position on civil rights and labor issues will lose them all hope of victory in 1952.

S. B. HOFFMAN and ARTHUR G. McDOWELL, general president and director, respectively, of the Upholsterers' International Union of North America (A. F. of L.), Philadelphia.

To win labor support, a candidate must have the ability to unite the country and to command respect. He must be willing to accept realistically the great changes in social legislation and distribution of national income which have resulted from the Roosevelt reforms; he must combine this acceptance with a fresh approach to current problems of domestic economy and the problem of defeating Communist aggression by measures supplementary to military action in order to avoid World War III.

One thing is clear: the Democrats, if they want labor support, must not include in their platform such reactionary planks as Senator Russell's conception of civil rights or the Dixiecrat stand on labor legislation.

RAY W. ATKINSON, Washington State C. I. O. Council.

Among the important issues is the extension of economic as well as military aid to under-privileged peoples. On the domestic front, labor favors low-cost housing; extension of the social-security program to include among other things, disability insurance; the Truman civil-rights program (and, by the same token, labor opposes the destruction of civil liberties by investigating bodies); repeal or drastic modification of the Taft-Hartley Act; and development of natural resources and flood control along the lines of the TVA. We are opposed to universal military training and to military control of atomic energy, and we support full cooperation with the United Nations.

The Democrats cannot afford this year to weaken in any way their 1948 stand on civil rights and on labor issues.

HUGH BRYSON, National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards (Independent), San Francisco.

The key issues, as we see them, are repeal of the Taft-Hartley, McCarran, Smith, and other repressive acts; negotiations among China, Great Britain, France, the Soviet Union, and the United States for a lasting peace and permanent disarmament; abolition of the poll tax, anti-lynch legislation, and a permanent FEPC; low-cost housing, socialized medicine, full employment, and other economic-security legislation.

The Democratic Party fell through some of these very planks after nailing them into their 1948 platform. Lip service is not enough. Our members supported the Progressive Party in 1948; the two old parties do not represent the working people of this country.

George Brown of the Oregon State C. I. O. Council, and James A. Suffridge, secretary-treasurer of the Retail Clerks International Association (A. F. of L.) in Indiana, indicated in their answers that their organizations expected the Democratic Party to hold fast to the liberal planks of its 1948 platform.

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Britain Balks on Korea

BY ANDREW ROTH

London

WHEN Richard Stokes recently attacked the Parliamentary secretary to the Ministry of Defense on the use of napalm bombs in Korea, veteran newspapermen in the press gallery began to take notice. The journalists generally ignore criticism of the United States-United Nations campaign in Korea when it comes from members on the left-pacifist fringe of the Labor Party such as Emrys Hughes or Sidney Silverman. They expect sharp attacks on American policy in Korea from Bevanites such as Barbara Castle or Tom Driberg. But they know well that British politics is like an iceberg, with most of its solid bulk below the surface; new surface contours are produced only by thrusts from below.

When Stokes asked for steps to stop napalm bombs from "falling on areas which are predominantly civilian," speculation started as to whether the former Cabinet minister was speaking primarily for the Labor Party or for the Catholic church, of which he is a leading political voice. Interest was further whetted when Viscount Hinchingbrooke, a true-blue Conservative, asked whether it was wise to continue the use "of these weapons, the propaganda counterblast of which greatly exceeds their initial military effect . . ." Conservative Brigadier Frank Medlicott asked: "How can we possibly justify being the first to use a weapon which is repellant to many right-thinking people?"

The use of the napalm bomb has been a public issue here since last March when the Manchester *Guardian,* Britain's most distinguished Liberal newspaper, quoted a shocking description of a napalm victim from the book "Korea Reporter," by Rene Cutforth, B. B. C.'s Korean correspondent:

> In front of us a curious figure was standing, a little crouched, legs straddled, arms held out from his sides. He had no eyes, and the whole of his body, nearly all of which was visible through tatters of burnt rags, was covered with a hard black crust speckled with yellow pus. A Korean woman by his side began to speak, and the interpreter said: "He has to stand, sir, he cannot sit or lie." He had to stand because he was no longer covered with a skin, but a crust like crackling which broke easily . . . I thought of the hundreds of villages reduced to ashes which I personally had seen and realized the sort of casualty list which must be mounting up along the Korean front.

Commented the *Guardian*: "We must think of what would happen in Europe if there were to be a war. Napalm is now said to be a standard weapon for air bombing, especially in close support of ground troops. Are our field ambulances ready to cope with the consequences?"

When the British Defense Ministry's Parliamentary secretary, Nigel Birch, replied to a series of questions on the napalm bomb on May 14, he pointed out delicately that "the napalm bomb has not been used by United Kingdom forces in Korea," thereby carefully labeling it an American weapon.

DURING the lively debate on the day Mr. Stokes attacked the napalm bomb, Chistopher Mayhew pursued the question of North Korean and Chinese prisoners of war. Mr. Mayhew, a right-wing Laborite, was Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs under Ernest Bevin and is considered one of the most pro-American of Labor members. He attacked the handling of prisoners as "extremely disturbing and unsatisfactory," suggesting that by proper use of "administration and psychology" a great many prisoners could be persuaded to accept repatriation without jeopardizing those "who have genuine grounds for fearing reprisals when they return home."

Two days later the *Times* used unusually strong language in attacking the handling of the prisoners: "Unfortunately the chaos in the prisoner-of-war camps and the incompetence of some of the American officers in charge of them has inevitably thrown doubt on the efficiency with which the prisoners were 'screened.' It is difficult to believe that all of the 60,000-odd prisoners who refused repatriation are really in danger of persecution if they go back. . . . It does suggest that the screening should be done again more carefully by an impartial commission."

On one aspect of the prisoners' issue, virtually all Britons except the miniscule Communist minority are united. As the socialist *New Statesman and Nation* puts it: "There is an arguable case for giving asylum to prisoners who are in real danger if they go home . . ." The right of political asylum is ingrained in the fabric of British life, as Karl Marx and others have found.

But even the most pro-American organs have serious doubts as to the *fairness* of the screening procedure. The *Economist* (May 24) admits that "it may be that screening officers and propagandists have been too zealous." A correspondent of the passionately pro-American *Observer,* recently returned from Korea, wrote (May 18): "The introduction last year of about forty Chinese-lan-

ANDREW ROTH is a staff contributor.

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guage interpreters and teachers from Formosa has had the effect of shifting the power in some of the Chinese compounds towards Nationalist elements and away from the Communists." The *Church Times* recently said:

> The reason why so many Chinese refuse to go home is that they have had it drilled into them by their American captors that, if they return, they will be punished and probably executed. In the last few weeks, the American authorities in Korea have reversed their propaganda policy towards prisoners. They have been told of the assurance given by the Chinese negotiators that there will be no victimization of returning prisoners of war. But the American reversal of policy has come too late. The prisoners will not change their minds again.

Many Britons are afraid that by insisting on repatriation, the United States may destroy the fabric of the Geneva Convention so painfully renegotiated in a four-month session in 1949. As the International Committee of the Red Cross wrote in introducing the agreement: "The principle of the immediate liberation of prisoners at the close of hostilities had . . . to be reaffirmed . . ." This was underlined in Article 118: "Prisoners of war shall be released and repatriated without delay after the cessation of active hostilities." Article 7 said that prisoners "may in no circumstances renounce in part or in entirety the rights secured by them . . ."

Both the Communist and the anti-Communist states were very anxious in 1949 to adopt this obligatory wording. In fact, according to diplomats who participated in the discussions, the British and Canadian delegates at Geneva argued strongly against giving prisoners of war *any* right to resist repatriation. Speaking scornfully of those who might seek to resist, William Henry Gardner, deputy leader of the British delegation, stated:

> Their motives will be various. There will be individuals who rightly expect that if they return to their own countries they will be prosecuted for crimes for which, if they are guilty, they ought to be punished. There will be individuals who want to remain in the Detaining Power's country because conditions such as food and treatment, etc., are better than in their own country. There will be individuals, and this is probably the largest category of all, who will want to remain because of liaisons with women.

The fact seems to be that Britain in 1949 was thinking in terms of possible war with Russia and the importance of securing the rapid repatriation of Western prisoners on the cessation of conflict.

These voices reflect Britain's growing anxiety to reduce Western commitments in Korea in favor of Europe, the Middle East, and Southeast Asia.

YET the Foreign Secretary and his associates are touchy about any public suggestion that they pressure the United States on Korea. In public the British government is full of praise for everything the United States does there. But privately Britain actively tries to restrain the Americans wherever this is thought necessary. Thus, in early May, while Anthony Eden was staunchly defending the United States in Commons, his diplomatic envoys in Washington and the United Nations were trying to modify American policy on prisoners in Korea. The *Economist* some months ago described the Foreign Office as feeling that on Korea "silence is golden" and that "any unsealing of ministerial lips would only disclose and thereby exacerbate basic differences of policy between London and Washington."

Except when there is a serious crisis brewing over Korea, this distinctively British self-discipline characterizes the "responsible" press as well. The *Times* "covers" Korea through its New York office. Two foreign correspondents and an editor have lost their jobs in Fleet Street for excessive frankness on Korea. Now only the *Daily Worker's* reporter exhibits any active desire to embarrass the Foreign Office spokesman on Korea during the daily press conference.

It is only when leading Britons believe a vital issue is at stake do they toss aside their normal restraint. One such occasion occurred in December, 1950, when Mr. Attlee flew to Washington to throw his weight into the balance against extending the Korean war to the Chinese mainland. A minor tempest flared briefly in November, 1951, when Britain felt the United States was unreasonably resisting Communist proposals for a truce line and discussions. Today, another such crisis appears to be brewing. Many Britons feel unless peace is achieved soon in Korea, it may be lost forever.

Beyond Comment

He gave it as his further opinion that "perhaps a good war is the way to world peace."—*Dr. V. O. Watts, former economist for the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, as quoted in the Los Angeles* Daily News.

By way of explanation to Elizabeth's many friends for not being united in her home church in Alabama . . . neither our daughter nor we could compromise our Christian conscience by acquiescing to the anti-Christian and communistic "blood-test" requirements of Alabama. Our hats are off to the superior spiritual intelligence of Mississippi.—*From special announcement section of the Birmingham, Alabama,* News.

Good talk with keen minds is essential to the development of an orderly set of opinions, and that is a working tool that is rather hard to come by in business. —*Clarence B. Randall, president of the Inland Steel Company, in the New York* Herald Tribune.

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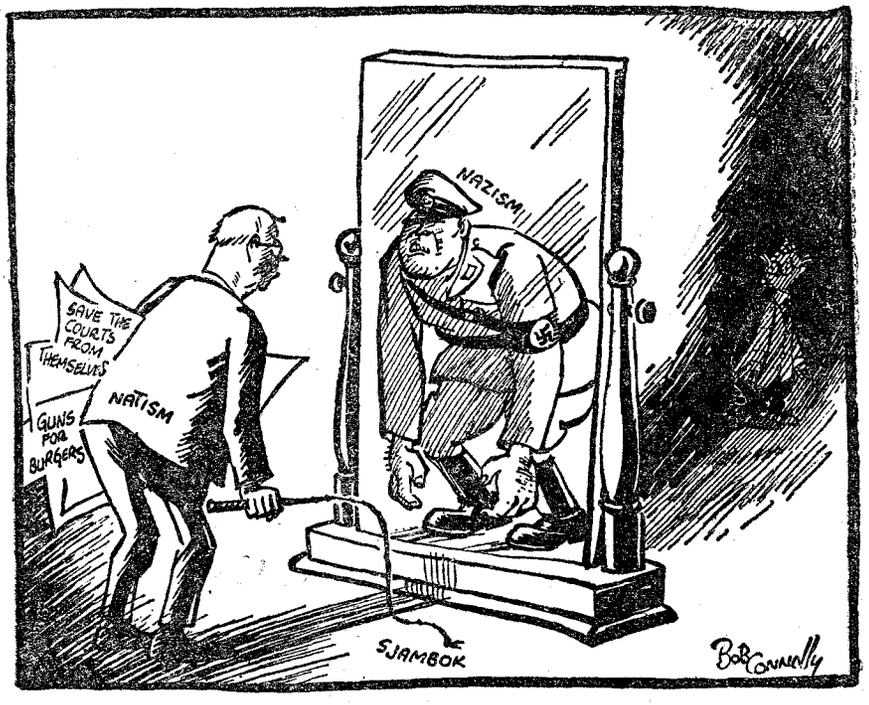
The Case of Bob Connolly

THE artist for the *Rand Daily Mail* of Johannesburg, South Africa, is Bob Connolly, formerly of Paterson, New Jersey, who still retains his American citizenship. Mr. Connolly has no use for "Natism"—the racist and nationalist philosophy of the Malan regime—and has attacked it so sharply that Eric Louw, South African Minister of Economic Affairs, recently told Parliament that if Mr. Connolly was an American "it was disgraceful that he should publish such cartoons in South Africa." Mr. Louw's speech led the American consul to investigate Mr. Connolly, who has since written *The Nation* as follows: "The consul has said that I would not lose the protection of the United States. However, the regulations they read to me still say that 'no American citizen is permitted to partake in politics in a foreign country in any way.' My cartoons have been political for fifteen years during the Smuts-Hertzog, the Smuts, and the present Malan regimes. The consul has sent a report on my status to Washington. Next comes Washington's ruling."

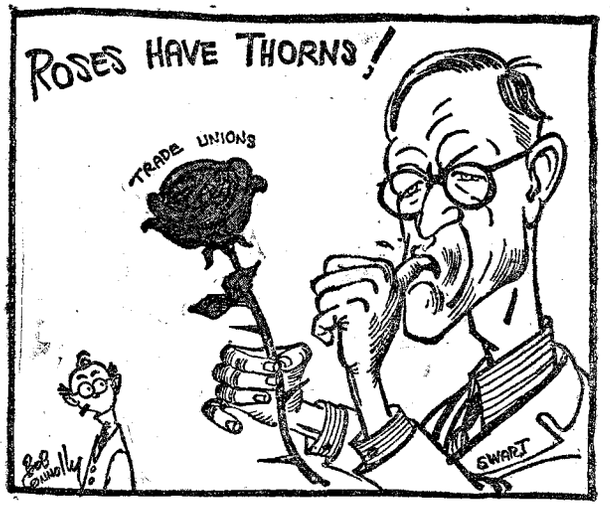
Below are three of the cartoons which brought Mr. Connolly into trouble.



Any Reflection Is Purely Coincidental

The Grim Ripper

[Published after hooligans had attacked an anti-Malanist with a sickle.]



Why Didn't Someone Tell Him?

[C. R. Swart is Minister of Justice in Dr. Malan's Nationalist cabinet.]

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The Challenge of Morocco

BY ROM LANDAU

FUTURE relations between the almost 400 million Moslems and the West may well depend upon the handling of the Moroccan question in the course of the present year. If it is mishandled, we may find ourselves facing a new "Indo-Chinese struggle" on the doorstep of Europe and the concerted enmity of Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia toward all nations committed by alliance to France. In order to save its colonial rule in Morocco, France is now speaking of "integration" rather than "colonization." But there is no magic in that vague term to out-balance the shortcomings of France's Protectorate policy.

Much of the French record in Morocco is highly estimable: a medieval land, on the verge of disruption, has become peaceful, prosperous, and comparatively modern. But the Moroccans' share in the prosperity has been only incidental, for the chief aim of French reforms has been to transform Morocco into an adjunct to the economy of France and to provide French emigrés with jobs or sources of enrichment. Settlers' interests have invariably prevailed over native needs.

While in the forty years of the French Protectorate enough money has been found to build magnificent government buildings, post offices, railway stations, residences for French officials, the welfare of the natives has been outrageously neglected. Only 7.5 per cent of the native children have schools; for a native population of nine million there are fewer than 250 state-employed doctors; the death rate of children below one year is 283.6 per thousand, the highest in the world; the first school for native administrators was not founded until 1950—even then it provided for fewer than sixty pupils. After forty years of the Protectorate there are still no genuine democratic elections, no legislative assembly, no freedom of expression, of assembly, or of travel. Moroccans are still forbidden to form their own trade unions. Imprisonment without trial has become a commonplace, and in the rural areas a Moroccan has not even the right to be defended by an attorney.

In view of the Protectorate's political record it is hardly surprising that nationalism should have become the second religion of the Moroccan people. In order to discredit it, the French have been claiming for years that close collaboration exists between the nationalists and the Communists. Together with French allegations that the nationalists are "religious fanatics" such charges belong to the realm of fiction. I have known Alal el Fassi, founder and head of the Istiqlal Party, and Si Ahmed Balafredj, its secretary, for several years. Both men, and the minor nationalist leaders as well, abhor communism. Most of them are pious Moslems and view the future independence of their country in terms of traditional Islam. They are, for all that, strongly opposed to the influence of the religious fraternities among which superstition and a reactionary spirit are rampant, and which the French are supporting for their own political ends. Even the youth of the Karaouine University at Fez, the largest and oldest educational institution in Morocco, is passionately nationalist and deeply religious, but opposed to both communism and the "fraternities."

IN THE fall of this year the Arab League will again insist that the United Nations Assembly discuss the question of Moroccan independence. Last December the demand of the league was defeated by three votes. It is not impossible that this time the vote will be reversed. The question arises, therefore: are the Moroccans ready to govern themselves, or is their country likely to become another liability of the United Nations?

The Moroccans know very well that they have no reserve of native executives, experts, and administrators to form a skeleton and sinews. Genuine and intensive training for self-administration will be their very first demand. French offers to provide such training will no longer be accepted by the Moroccans; the pattern of resident-generals, permanent officials, and privileged French experts—all of whom are the willing tools of the French settlers on the spot—is too well known to inspire confidence. Assuming that the Moroccans would agree to an interim period before complete independence is granted, they would insist that the tutelage years be spent under the supervision of a United Nations commission or a neutral controller.

Morocco already has a number of men capable of assuming responsibility, and the Moroccans are an intelligent and highly adaptable people. Their ancient traditions of independence and self-government are still very much alive, and it would not take them long to produce the needed experts. No one can possibly foretell how long the period of training must be. My guess would be about ten years. Anyhow, neither the Sultan nor the nationalists have any wish to deprive themselves of the

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services of such French experts as may be willing to work loyally in an independent Morocco. But such experts must not expect to keep their present monopoly of "plum" posts. For the Moroccans hope to have American, British, and other technicians and advisers as well, and they wish to revive the policy of the "Open Door," as laid down by the Act of Algeciras of 1906, according to which all nations would enjoy equal trade rights in Morocco. The Moroccans are prepared to sign a treaty of alliance with France, and to guarantee all legitimate French interests in their country. But they will sign such a treaty only after having gained their freedom.

Under the projected Moroccan constitution, the equality and status of minorities is guaranteed. Such Frenchmen, Jews, or other minorities as accept Moroccan citizenship will enjoy exactly the same rights as Moroccans of the Moslem faith.

In their present mood of frustration and disillusion, the Moroccans are not likely to accept any French or United Nations proposal that falls short of complete independence. Thus, the chief task of the Western democracies, and of American diplomacy in particular, will be to persuade the Moroccans to see the value of an interim period of, say, five to fifteen years. They might accept such a proposal provided a definite date for independence were underwritten by the United Nations.

Equally important will be the task of persuading the French that the continuation of a regime that is obnoxious not only to nine million Moroccans, but also to forty times as many Moslems spread throughout the world, is dangerous for future relations between Islam and the West. The good will of the Moslem world must surely count for more than the selfish interests of the few thousand French settlers on Moroccan soil.

The Mutual Fund Rainbow

BY WILLIAM G. FERRIS

YOU too can own a share of American industry. You too can employ top financial minds to invest your money. Why worry? Let the bright boys of the stock-and-bond tables do your worrying while you cash the dividend checks. With such happy thoughts Wall Street has found the pot of gold at the end of the rainbow. In the past decade mutual funds have become Wall Street's most promising source of income. When nothing else can be sold, mutual funds find ready buyers. Today assets of these funds total around three and a half billion dollars compared with one billion dollars ten years ago.

Mutual funds used to be called investment trusts. During the stock-market boom of the 1920's, the investment-trust idea sprouted with the vigor characteristic of that whoop-de-doo era. Then as now it was argued that the "little investor" needed the protection which expert trust managements could give them. At the height of the boom Tri-Continental Corporation, Adams Express Company, Blue Ridge Corporation, General American Investors Company, and Lehman Corporation were formed. They were, and are, "closed-end" trusts, differing from the currently more popular "open-end" type.

A closed-end fund is one which has issued a stated amount of securities and, generally, plans to issue no more. The open-end funds issue stock each day if they can find a buyer. They grow and grow as more buyers are found. Shares in closed-end funds are bought and sold at market prices. Many are listed on the New York Stock Exchange. Open-end-fund shares are bought through securities salesmen from the fund. The price is based on the market price of the securities in the fund's portfolio. Open-end funds will buy back what they have sold you. The purchase price, like the sales price, depends on the market price of the securities in the fund's portfolio.

However, the price at which you can buy on any given day is always higher than the price at which you can sell. This price differential is the "load." It usually averages from 6 to 8 per cent of the value of the stocks in the fund's portfolio. The charge is split between the fund and the investment house which sells the fund's shares. Presumably, it is a legitimate charge for the high-priced management which directs the fund's buying and selling of securities.

Obviously it takes a lot of dividends to make up for this load. A return of 6 per cent a year on invested money is very handsome, but even that might not equalize the load. Ordinarily you would have to hold shares for more than a year to come out even, assuming no rise in their price. The load can be compared with commissions and taxes which must be paid when you buy and sell stock through a brokerage house. These also mount up. On odd lots—less than 100 shares—you pay ⅛ or ¼ point more than the market price when buying and receive ⅛ or ¼ point under the market price when selling.

Because closed-end funds were in existence in 1929, it is possible to test their performance during a depression. Their performance was rotten. Lehman Corporation originally was offered to the public at $104 a share. In

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1932 it brought $30.50. Here is the record of other 1929 highs and 1932 lows of closed-end funds (source: Moody's Investment Trusts):

	1929 High	1932 Low
Adams Express	68⅜	1⅝
Blue Ridge	20	½
General American Investors	30¼	½
Railway and Light Securities	110	6
Tri-Continental Corporation	20¼	1½

Let's put this another way. Suppose you were one of those naive investors who wanted experienced, competent financial management to handle your money in 1929. To give yourself this protection you put $2,000 in Blue Ridge Corporation. At the low point in 1932 this investment, guided by the sophisticated men of finance, was worth a princely $50.

It can be said for the funds that at least they are still operating. Investments in some of the wilder offerings of the 1920's were completely wiped out. And the funds do share in the boom times. The Lehman stock bought at $104 in 1929 would be worth around $140 today, giving effect to a three-for-one split in 1937. Dividends have been paid each year. Chrysler Corporation, which sold at a high of $135 in 1929, also would be worth around $140 today, after giving effect to a two-for-one split in 1947.

In the post-war years the open-end funds have outstripped the closed-end variety in popular favor. They have at least one great advantage: since not many of them were around in '29 and '30, how they fared in the depression cannot be checked. An exception is Massachusetts Investors Trust, biggest of all the mutual funds. Founded in Boston in March, 1929, it has had on its board of directors over the years such honored Back Bay names as Lowell, Cabot, and Adams. It sold as high as 64⅞ in 1929 and as low as 10⅞ in 1932.

While there has been no steep decline in stock prices since the 1929-32 period, a fairly severe shake-out developed late in 1937. How did the open-end mutual funds weather this squall? Did their managements see it coming and get out in time?

Here is the record of seven large, highly respected, representative funds for 1937 (source: Moody's Investment Trusts):

	High	Low
Affiliated Fund	$ 13.47	$ 3.99
Dividend Shares	2.36	1.18
Fundamental Investors	28.13	15.37
Incorporated Investors	28.44	15.24
Massachusetts Investors Trust	33.36	18.83
State Street Investment Corp.	117.14	65.87
Wellington Fund	21.85	12.40

Clearly, the wisdom of mutual-fund managements did not enable the funds to escape this shake-out.

Mutual funds undoubtedly offer diversification for the little investor. Instead of putting all his eggs in one basket, he lets a mutual fund put it in many. There is some protective feature in this, since over a short term stocks of companies in different industries have varying market movements. However, in any general market decline, such as was experienced in 1937, most stocks move in one direction.

The little fellow who places his money in a mutual fund is doubtless better off than he who takes a flyer in some wild-cat stock-promotion scheme. He can be assured that, even if the funds have not had much success in judging the market, they at least are trying to be wary. Furthermore, in the past ten years of war and inflation the mutual funds have provided a better place to put money than have government bonds or the bank. But, then, so have the vast majority of stocks; and so have commodity futures. Unfortunately, some mutual funds imply that their shares can be bought without risk. They are offered as solid, safe investments. This they are not. They can lose value quickly and substantially.

MUTUAL funds help to boom a rising market. When the public is in a stock-buying mood, when it is flush, when it is chasing rainbows, mutual-fund shares sell briskly. And the funds, with the money thus acquired, buy stocks. Their buying helps to send the market higher.

But what happens when the market is falling? Then the public will be needing money and will be selling stocks and mutual-fund shares. As the number of shares the funds must redeem starts to exceed the number of their shares they sell, they will have to look around for money. At first they may have some extra cash available. Perhaps they will have some government bonds they can sell. But if the excess of redemptions over new sales continues for any length of time, as it would in a real depression, the funds will have to start liquidating the stocks in their portfolios—and in a declining market.

Technically, the Securities and Exchange Commission has control over mutual-fund advertising. A "Statement of Policy" determines how far the funds can go in their claims. Actually, the implementation of this policy rests with the National Association of Securities Dealers, which is not a disinterested party. The association reviews advertising for mutual funds and presumably tries to keep it under control. How far it succeeds may be judged by this advertising gem from the New York *Times*: "Professional managers devote their full time and experience to administering the Fund, buying and selling, bookkeeping and collecting. You are relieved of all details except cashing dividend checks." And except, of course, the additional little detail of worrying about your capital if the funds guess the market trend wrong.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

Not Unblessed Pilgrimage

NECESSARY EVIL: THE LIFE OF JANE WELSH CARLYLE. By Lawrence and Elisabeth Hanson. The Macmillan Company. $7.50.

IT IS usually a graceless review that discusses not the book the author has written but the one the reviewer would have preferred. But in the case of the biography of a well-known figure, the subject of several earlier biographies, the question inevitably arises what new discoveries or what deeper insights call forth the fresh attempt.

Jane Carlyle's great gift lay in her letter-writing. The Hansons have shown care and competence in going over all the Carlyle manuscript material, discovering new letters and correcting former omissions; but I am sorry that they did not carry out their original intent to publish a complete edition of Jane Carlyle's letters. A number of the most interesting letters now out of print are not included here, and their place is taken by such flat statements as "Forster . . . stimulated her to write some of her brightest letters." Only a biography itself a work of genius can compare in value with such collections as Leonard Huxley's "Letters of T. H. Huxley," F. O. Matthiessen's edition of the writings of "The James Family," and, on a more limited scale, F. A. Hayek's correspondence of John Stuart Mill and Harriet Taylor.

But, if we are not to have the complete letters of Jane Carlyle, we look to a new biography for deeper understanding of this brilliant, paradoxical, self-destroying person. This desire for insight comes not only from partisans of Jane or of Thomas, or from historians of the period, but from all of us concerned with the springs of action in individuals and with the relationship between them. Such terms as "mis-mated" or "symbiotic relation" are careless labels which beg the question. We want to know more of the relation between the Carlyles, as between the Tolstoys, between Macbeth and Lady Macbeth, between Dorothea and Casaubon, in order to learn more of the human dilemma of individual difference and isolation combined with the need for closeness between human beings.

Instead we find once again the familiar incidents of Jane defying her mother by learning Latin and proving her courage with the Haddington boys by crawling over the high bridge and seizing the gobbling turkey-cock; the endless debates over where the at-long-last-engaged Carlyles should live (finally decided by Jane's mother); the lonely days "companionless 'like owl in desert'" at Craigenputtock; the canary atop the luggage on the final move to London; the illustrious visitors who frequented 5 Cheyne Row.

But how did the high-spirited girl, "a fleein', dancin', lightheartit thing that noething would hae dauntit," become transformed into the older Jane, a neurotic invalid with querulous insistence on always being the center of the stage? It is not enough to say that she was a spoiled only child with insatiable demands for praise and affection, and that Carlyle was a dour Calvinist, insatiable in his need to drive himself to work, "an even more difficult man without a book than with one." After all, Jane, the gay flirt, the natural hostess, did marry the uncouth, wry-tempered scholar against the counsel of family and friends; she did sustain with abundance of grace six years of solitude at Craigenputtock—where mail came once a week, Carlyle worked unceasingly, and months passed with no sight of the face of a friend. If it was belief in Carlyle's genius that upheld her then, why did this fail her later after he had gained recognition?

What happened to her earlier delight in her own keen intelligence so that it never led her to the creative work that Carlyle and others urged upon her? Why was her sympathy so lavishly expressed in a human situation directly under her eyes while she lacked imagination for those at a distance, so that she failed to understand, for example, why Mazzini was more interested in the liberation of Italy than in spending time with her? Did she feel acute deprivation over not having children? The extravagance of her fondness for Lady Ashburton's daughter and for her dog and other pets suggests that such frustration may have contributed to her neurotic illness. If Carlyle had ever given her a gift before her forty-first birthday, or more openly expressed his tenderness for her in earlier years, would this have altered their relationship? And why, with all the friction between them, did they remain together for nearly forty years until Jane's death?

Such questions as these cannot be answered simply in terms of nineteenth-century marriage or the lot of women in the Victorian Age. Jane Carlyle's time was, also, the time of the Brontës, of Mrs. Gaskell, of George Eliot.

The Hansons lean over backward in their attempt to be simply factual and unspeculative. Their page-and-a-half appendix saying that, in their view, the Carlyles simply found sex relations unsatisfactory and so discounted them is admirably cautious but hardly enlightening on the meaning of this for either of them. Surely it is not necessary to go to extremes of psychoanalytic biography in order to offer some hypotheses on the nature of the mixed elements that entered into these two lives. How much of their attraction for each other and their unending conflict was the inevitable problem of two people—one of whom drew strength from within himself and from the breadth of the abstractions with which he found himself at home; the other who found herself dependent for renewal precisely upon the multitude of outside daily events and people, which to her husband were appealing but essentially alien? It will be interesting to see whether the Hansons go any further into such questions with the very different relationship of Marian Evans and George Henry Lewes in their forthcoming life of George Eliot.

One thing does emerge through the Hansons' carefully measured presentation of facts: they do not like Jane Carlyle. They go to some pains to underscore her spiteful and mean-spirited acts and the way flattery, especially as she grew older, always revived her failing health. These things were un-

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doubtedly no small part of her personality; but were they all? What does not come out in this book is the source of her endless attraction for other people, including her husband. Suggestions on this appear in Carlyle's "Reminiscences" and in his letters to "my poor, dear Jeannie," some of which the Hansons give. Revealing, too, is Carlyle's inscription in the pamphlet edition of "Sartor Resartus," which they do not quote:

> To Jane W. Carlyle. This little book, little Milestone in a desolate, confused, yet not (as we hope) unblessed Pilgrimage we make in common, is with heart's gratitude inscribed by her affectionate T. C.

HELEN M. LYND

A Most Amusing Novel

THE SPENDTHRIFTS. By Benito Pérez Galdós. Farrar, Straus and Young. $3.50.

BENITO PEREZ GALDOS (1843-1920), very popular in Spain, is also a major European novelist. In England and America, however, he is almost unknown. Some plays and a few minor novels have been translated, most of them over fifty years ago. Yet he wrote the "National Episodes," a historical survey of nineteenth-century Spain forty-five volumes long, and seven or eight important novels. Among them is "The Spendthrifts" ("La De Bringas," 1884) which now appears in English for the first time.

It is the best and the most amusing novel I have read in months. The "schools" of naturalism and realism are not clearly distinguishable in it, one from another. Galdós sees that society determines the lives of his characters; he convinces us that they are free to conduct themselves almost as they please. The most obvious influences on "The Spendthrifts," as they were among his major literary enthusiasms, are Balzac and Dickens, though his sensibility is entirely original.

The action occurs in Madrid during the spring and summer of 1868, the last months of the reign of Isabella II; it is resolved by the revolution which sent that amiable royal hoyden into exile. Almost every event—one of the merits of "The Spendthrifts" is the sense it conveys that much is always happening—takes place on the upper floors of the Royal Palace. Here exists, almost completely separated by poverty from the royal debauchery, a complex society, the "Palace-city"; it is inhabited by minor court functionaries, charwomen, hangers-on of the royal household, and petty bureaucrats. Some of these people believe in the offices they hold. They are pleasant, well-mannered, and ordinary. Galdós never creates the grotesques so common in Balzac and Dickens.

The plot centers on the financial difficulties of Rosalía Bringas, married to an unimportant and diligent bureaucrat, and on the beginnings of the moral downfall of this clever and corruptible Emma Bovary of the palace. On this middle-aged couple the dead hand of the "ruling passion" lies heavy. But the misleading and easy formula for explaining human behavior grows increasingly less important as the novel progresses. The Bringas are poor. Rosalía has a passion for finery. She is "full of vanity"; her temperament is "inacces-

THE GOD OF GALAXIES

The god of galaxies has more to govern
Than the first men imagined, when one mountain
Trumpeted his anger, and one rainbow,
Red in the east, restored them to his love.
One earth it was, with big and lesser torches,
And stars by night for candles. And he spoke
To single persons, sitting in their tents.

Now streams of worlds, now powdery great whirlwinds
Of universes far enough away
To seem but fog-wisps in a bank of night
So measureless the mind can sicken, trying—
Now seas of darkness, shoreless, on and on
Encircled by themselves, yet washing farther
Than the last triple sun, revolving, shows.

The god of galaxies—how shall we praise him?
For so we must, or wither. Yet what word
Of words? And where to send it, on which night
Of winter stars, of summer, or by autumn
In the first evening of the Pleiades?
The god of galaxies, of burning gases,
May have forgotten Leo and the Bull.

But God remembers, and is everywhere.
He even is the void, where nothing shines.
He is the absence of his own reflection
In the deep gulf; he is the dusky cinder
Of pure fire in its prime; he is the place
Prepared for hugest planets: black idea,
Brooding between fierce poles he keeps apart.

Those altitudes and oceans, though, with islands
Drifting, blown immense as by a wind,
And yet no wind; and not one blazing coast
Where thought could live, could listen—oh, what word
Of words? Let us consider it in terror,
And say it without voice. Praise universes
Numberless. Praise all of them. Praise Him.

MARK VAN DOREN

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sible to every passion except the passion for dress." As for Bringas, he is a petty miser; by exercising the most stringent domestic economy he has saved a few thousand *reals*.

In Balzac or in Dickens such characters are moral monsters: a Grandet, a Miss Murdstone, a Jonas Chuzzlewit. Exactly here Galdós's sensibility saves him. He knows that ruling passions do exist and that they propel human beings into catastrophes. He knows more. Rosalía has motives deeper than her passion for dress. She may despise her husband for the shifts his niggardliness puts her to: pawning the silver candlesticks when he is temporarily blind and unable to keep an eye on the household gods; unpleasant dealings with moneylenders; seduction by a finely-drawn bureaucrat, Pez (Fish), who will, she vainly hopes, pay her debts. She is also more than her ruling passion. The finest scene in "The Spendthrifts" is her return from her one sorry assignation to her unfashionable and exasperating husband and the noisy children whom she loves. For the moment she values Bringas as he would like to be valued, a paragon of the domestic virtues. In the same fashion Galdós shows us a Bringas who is more than a stupid official and a preposterous miser. He is a man of honor, despite his old nankeen suit, which, he deceives himself into believing, always looks like new. He loves his wife, though with a family passion. After the queen goes into exile he insists, half-blind and approaching nervous collapse, on leaving his beloved Palace-city, so profound is his moral contempt for the revolution.

Everywhere in "The Spendthrifts" is a feeling for the beauty of life, even in the most dreary circumstances, even in the Royal Palace in Madrid in 1868. Light and shade, gaiety and joy infuse writing which might easily be no more than a careful history of ruinous conduct, dull court intrigue, and commonplace worries about money. A sense of wonder is never absent from the account of daily life: a walk in the royal park, children bathing in the Manzanares, the preparation of a simple meal, the cutting-out of a dress, the weather of a Madrid summer—all assume a reality and convey a sense of life going on which is never to be questioned.

ERNEST JONES

Income and Welfare

THE ETHICS OF REDISTRIBUTION. By Bertrand de Jouvenel. Cambridge University Press. $1.75.

THE tremendous increase in the scope of central government activities in the last generation has sometimes deliberately, sometimes inadvertently, altered the distribution of personal incomes. In part the increased impact of government finance is a consequence of war and defense efforts. But much public spending, especially for social security, reflects a changing concept of social responsibility, a substantial consensus that such personal emergencies as illness, old age, and unemployment can be met successfully only by collective action. Although important questions of extent and method remain unresolved, there are few who entirely reject the social functions of the modern state and deny the necessity of some income redistribution to accomplish them.

M. de Jouvenel cannot be fairly included in this minority: He does not relieve the state of a Christian duty to succor the unfortunate and the handicapped. What he does question, partly on economic, but largely on moral grounds, is the modern liberal view of the state as an agency of social improvement, cultural diffusion, and economic justice. In his opinion, government is inefficient, blundering, unperceptive, and, in the end, tyrannical. It stifles original thought and prohibits that free market in ideas, that willingness to accept risk, which have marked our society's past cultural progress. Inevitably income redistribution fosters the large, powerful, and ever oppressive state, since there is needed—here the author cites J. E. Meade—"an exceedingly complex machinery" to collect the incomes of the richer and redistribute them among the poorer.

The strategy of M. de Jouvenel's economic campaign against income redistribution or income equality (it is not always clear which concept he is attacking) is somewhat novel. He does not rely on the commonest argument against income redistribution, that it has adverse effects on incentives and, consequently, on the rate of economic progress. His principal economic point, rather, is that redistribution is financially impossible. A fairly lengthy computation purports to demonstrate that at least in England the lowest incomes cannot be raised to a desired minimum without reducing higher incomes to a level which endangers the living standards of the lower middle class and so attacks incomes which the most ardent redistributionists do not wish to molest. As the author's figures are hypothetical, it may well be that any actual redistributionist would react to them with a startled "Who, me? You've got the wrong guy." Neither does the logic, much less the arithmetic, of his argument apply to societies whose production regularly increases; in an expanding economy more may be given to some without giving less to others. At this point M. de Jouvenel seems to need the support of the usual case against redistribution.

The crucial elements in his case are moral. They center on the still unresolved controversies set off by the nineteenth-century English utilitarians. Like J. S. Mill in his later writings, M. de Jouvenel believes that there is a

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hierarchy of goals and pleasures and that individuals are more or less valuable as their capacities minister to aims higher or lower in this hierarchy. In recent history the middle class has harbored the largest number of valuable citizens. Therefore, this class deserves and requires amenities, even luxuries, beyond the ordinary. Its cultural existence depends above all on a wide range of personal choices. These choices the redistributionist state progressively narrows. By reducing the individual's income the state restricts his control of his children's education, curtails his purchases of books and paintings, and limits his ability to subsidize political and cultural objectives of his own selection. More and more activities once privately supported move into the orbit of state control as individuals become less and less able to finance them.

Throughout this persistently provocative book, M. de Jouvenel makes evident his belief that the "good society" and the welfare state are incompatible, without so much as sketching his own version of a good society. Speculation suggests that he approves the individualistic arrangements beloved of laissez-faire economists. The risks for the poor would be minimized by the largesse of the state and the social conscience of the rich, in whom M. de Jouvenel possesses touching faith. Most important of all, his good society is united in the pursuit of non-material, and vaguely theological, aims.

We are left with a question: Have we in the Western world taken a wrong political turning which threatens to destroy our freedoms, or is the welfare state, firmly guided and carefully watched, potentially a force for social improvement and cultural diversity? Certainly the pressures toward cultural uniformity have not come entirely from the state; various private groups, business, religious, and fraternal, have been equally potent. But M. de Jouvenel is relatively untroubled by the growth of private power and uninterested in the case that can be made for its public control.

This reviewer's disagreement with the author is obvious. None the less, M. de Jouvenel has in brief space succinctly expressed doubts of great importance even to those of us who find government more benevolent and redistribution more desirable than he does. Undeniably there are dangers in a powerful government; surely the limits of redistribution remain unclear; and inevitably the outlines of the good society are mysterious. All this and more M. de Jouvenel gracefully advances in prose whose style is as neat and concise as its contents are potent.

ROBERT LEKACHMAN

Stevens As Essayist

THE NECESSARY ANGEL. Essays on Reality and the Imagination. By Wallace Stevens. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.

AMONG casual readers of poetry, one sometimes hears: "Ah, yes, Wallace Stevens. A very fine poet, no doubt, but how can you account for a man who persists in writing about such silly subjects?" On the one hand, this. On the other, the incredible injustices Stevens has suffered from those who take him seriously, from critics who have written admirably about Chaucer and Keats and Hart Crane and have had nothing but twaddle to say about Stevens. In this predicament—between the devilishly uninformed and the deep blue connoisseurs—it has been up to Mr. Stevens to save himself, and he has made a long stride in that direction by collecting in one volume, where they will be ineluctably accessible to even the laziest of us, seven of his important essays in prose.

Stevens is a poet who still believes that poetry is the supreme activity. Unlike many of his colleagues, who have turned to traditional dogmas or positivisms, Stevens refuses the opinion that art is a game, a propaganda, or a ceremony. For him, poetry—he can say this unabashedly—is a means toward truth. It is man's best means, for its instrument is man's greatest faculty, the imagination, which surpasses indubitably the philosopher's reason and the scientist's inductive technique. And poetry, if it succeeds, possesses also the power to bestow upon its participants an automatic by-product—ennoblement.

Yet the poet's imagination is useless unless he brings it to bear squarely upon reality, and for Stevens reality is the vastly differentiated, sometimes discouraging reality of our own world, a world untinctured by intimations of any supernal intelligence. It is a reality of almost unlimited beauty for those who deal with it imaginatively and in its own terms. The poet who can enhance, organize, and make comprehensible an aspect of reality participates in the discovery of a truth. He ennobles himself and his readers; to him belong the moral and intellectual rewards of nobility. Reality is for the poet, as for all men, "the necessary angel," without a high regard for whom the poet would be only another radio announcer, howling in the wind.

As a poet, Stevens's primary duty has been to write poetry, to explore reality. He has written many poems, most of them admirable, some of them truly great. But as a poet who feels the poet's position in the modern world insecure—not economically or socially, but intellectually—Stevens has given himself the secondary duty to write about poetry. He has made a definition of poetry; he has studied the way poetry works. He has given us several theories of the processes of imagination, theories which elucidate the properties of metaphor, analogy, and resemblance. He has been especially concerned with the way poets look at reality, the way each man sees a tree differently, for these various views comprise what we can apprehend of truth, and they are our *raison d'être* as sensible beings.

How different are these ideas from those we usually hear of Stevens! Among his admirers, he is a high romantic, a direct descendent of French impressionism, a mage of the poetic ritual. Among his critics, he is a funambulist, an *élégant,* a hedonist, a decadent, even a dude. Both parties have been too much impressed by the externalities of Stevens's poetic style, his very precise rhetoric and his occasionally rococo vocabulary. They have seized upon and exaggerated those poems in which Stevens has presented an exotic view of the world, poems of Florida and Tehuantepec, and they have neglected the poems which extol the august and even austere beauty of mundane things. They have forgotten, in other words, what has always been true: a poet's observations, if they are valid, must be his own, and his style, if it is effective, must be original.

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The fact is, the ideas Stevens expresses in these essays and has always expressed in his poems bear a much closer affinity to Wordsworth, to Sidney, or to the men of the ancient world than they do to the decadents of the late nineteenth century. In so far as our world is decadent in comparison with the ancient or any other world, Stevens is too, though I should prefer to use some such word as "refined" or "elaborate." The nobility that Stevens has sought is not Homer's; it is a modern nobility, intellectual and subtle; it is heroic only in its spiritual or aesthetic staunchness. Perhaps it is not nobility at all, but a kind of very good intelligence or very intelligent goodness that we in our moral sedentariness can still aspire to. But whatever it is, it is not foolishness or frippery. It is earnest, though not deadly earnest, and its products—Stevens's poems—are serious works, constructed to a measure which would allow no extraneous or supercilious ornament. It is inconceivable that a poet whose concept of poetry is the one enunciated in these essays could be vulnerable to affectation or preciosity. Stevens has created a theory of the value of poetry which surpasses in seriousness the more insistent dicta of all his contemporaries, and his poems are hard grapplings with reality, out in the open, away from the *culs-de-sac* of spiritual remoteness that have trapped so many of the rest.

The development of Stevens's thought has been, if one hesitates to say logical, at least consistent and true to its own problems. The questions raised in his latest essays go back directly to his early poems, "Sunday Morning," "Sea Surface Full of Clouds," and so on. Most of his ideas are not original—his close affinity to Wordsworth has already been pointed out by J. V. Cunningham—but they have been rigorously tested by all the poetic conditions of modernity. Nor has Stevens tried to write criticism or aesthetic theory. His essays are more nearly an operating program for poets, for one poet particularly—Stevens himself. As such their greatest importance will be as an adjunct to, or defense of, his poetry. To this end—the real appreciation of Stevens's poetic achievement—they are indispensable.

I do not want to turn from noticing these essays without saying a word about their extraordinary qualities as literature. Like his poems, Stevens's prose contains many prodigious remarks: "The centuries have a way of being male." "The supreme example of analogy in English is 'Pilgrim's Progress'." "When we look back at the period of French classicism . . . , we have no difficulty in seeing it as a whole." These will probably scare small scholars half out of their wits. So much the better. A little area must be reserved. But we know that Stevens likes to shock us, and we laugh and look for the most outrageous and exotic surmises, until, all at once, they are no longer outrageous and exotic but the astute and respectable thoughts of a man who lives in Hartford, Connecticut. These are rich essays, simply constructed yet richly and elegantly written. They contain many references, an anthology-full of quotations from the most various and delightful authors, all very much to Stevens's purpose, but all exciting and pleasant to come across for their own sake. I do not mean to be altogether frivolous when I suggest that the best way to read this book is to invest in a bottle of the best sherry one can afford and a twenty-five-cent cigar. At least I found them the appropriate accessories and not at all antagonistic to the seriousness I have spoken of.

HAYDEN CARRUTH

An American in Istanbul

LET'S TALK TURKEY. By Willie Snow Ethridge. The Vanguard Press. $3.

HE WHO would bring home the wealth of the Indies, said Dr. Johnson, must carry the wealth of the Indies with him. Mrs. Ethridge demonstrates, in the latest and probably most successful of her travel books, that she has done just that. However, "Let's Talk Turkey," like its predecessors, "It's Greek to Me" and "Going to Jerusalem," does not usurp the role of either Baedeker or the encyclopedia. Less gifted travelers have taken care to arm themselves with such knowledge, but Mrs. Ethridge relies instead upon the eminently American qualities of curiosity, a sense of humor, and the unforced ability to like people and understand them. These constitute a wealth of the Indies that good travelers must have, and the great thing is that Mrs. Ethridge so clearly enjoys her travels. All three books, in fact, emphasize the reaction of Americans to the ancient lands at the eastern end of the Mediterranean, rather than matters of geopolitics. This time Mrs. Ethridge and her distinguished husband were accompanied by their twelve-year-old son, Mr. Big, whose strong antipathy to even the finest mosques will be appreciated by anyone who has been exposed to them.

The Ethridge's visit to Turkey, and the book, were the result of an accident. After a return visit to Greece as the guests of the Greek government (Mr. Ethridge, as a member of the United Nations Balkans Commission, had helped persuade the Truman Administration to provide help against the Greek Communists before it was too late), they decided to spend a few

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days in Istanbul while waiting for the freighter on which they were to return home to discharge its cargo. As a result of complications in unloading the freighter the days stretched into weeks, and the Ethridges, while lamenting the delay, made the most of their opportunity to see what modern Turkey is like.

Some of the stories, in particular the time Mr. Big was caught driving a Turkish taxi, and the troubles that developed when Mrs. Ethridge appeared with a camera in what turned out to be a prohibited zone, are hilarious; Mrs. Ethridge is an excellent *raconteuse*. At a time when the general outlook, which is bad enough, is made even worse by quantities of direful viewings-with-alarm, Mrs. Ethridge's gaiety and good humor are particularly welcome.

However, she is also a shrewd reporter, and although she pretends to be not quite sure where Jason sought the golden fleece, or Xenophon reached the sea, her anecdotes always make a definite point. Few writers have captured so well the spirit of present-day Turkey, a country which, despite the constant threat of Soviet invasion, is still concentrating its energies on the creation of an industrialized and relatively democratic state; even with the impetus supplied by Ataturk, it has taken a strenuous effort for the Turks to make the leap within a single lifetime from the era of harems and weighted sacks dropped in the Bosphorus after midnight.

The American-style go-getter is a prominent if unexpected part of Turkish life. The presence of such a booster helps give a special shading and proportion to Where the Saints Have Trod, the account of a visit to Antioch and the church where Paul preached—"the disciples were called Christians first in Antioch"—which may yet find a place in an anthology of modern essays. Mrs. Ethridge is to be congratulated on a very good book.

THOMAS J. HAMILTON

Wiring the Farms

THE FARMER TAKES A HAND. By Marquis Childs. Doubleday and Company. $3.50.

HOW thoroughly we now take for granted many reforms of the New Deal which once were bitterly fought and resisted! Senator Robert A. Taft, Mr. Republican himself, campaigned for votes in the recent Wisconsin primary by boasting that the Eightieth Congress had appropriated generously for rural electrification. Of course, there was once a time when generosity in this respect seemed, to Mr. Taft, a peril to the nation.

In an excellent chronicle of the crusade to electrify America's farms, Marquis Childs has gone back far beyond that time, to the period when TVA and backwoods power lines were just a glint in the eye of a great public servant, the late Senator George Norris. Two decades ago rural electrification served only one farm in every ten. Today it serves nine farms in every ten. This may be just another statistic to city folks, more numbers on a printed page. But it means virtually life itself to millions of Americans in hinterland valleys and along dirt roads.

My wife's farming family in the State of Washington has not enjoyed electricity so long but that the touch of the light switch and the reassuring drone of the automatic refrigerator are full of significance. These people talk about the time when they cooled butter in the creek and stumbled to a sickbed with a kerosene lamp. The 230,000-volt Bonneville line, which bisects their fields, is a sign to them that government can undertake programs to make life better.

Marquis Childs, brought up in Iowa in the heart of the tall-corn realm, writes feelingly of the great mass movement which created the Rural Electrification Administration and brought comforts and machinery to the farm. He has prepared a history of REA and of the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, which is the organization that lobbies for REA appropriations and defends its policies in the field of politics. The author has high praise for the first director of REA, Morris L. Cooke. He believes Cooke was right when he advised President Roosevelt that loans both to co-ops and private utilities should be on a basis that would result in ultimate return of the government's money. Competition between the companies and the co-ops worked to the eventual benefit of the farmer. It also helped some of the very companies which had cried "socialism" when REA originally was proposed. In this election year Mr. Childs's eleventh chapter, The Politics of Power, is particularly recommended to those millions of conservative Republicans who expect a Tory millennium if the G. O. P. returns to the White House.

REA was a joint product of those two arch-New Dealers, FDR and Uncle George Norris. It was denounced in the beginning as another waste of the people's funds, a hand-out feature of the dangerous Welfare State. Would the rampant Republicans abolish it, or even impair its operation? Listen to Senator Taft: "It is true that in the case of the REA the money to establish these facilities, which in the power field are very expensive, has been loaned by the government. But that should not change the cooperative character of REA. So the government also subsidized the first transcontinental railroads and other enterprises where, for one reason or another, private capital could not undertake the complete support of new and risky development." Mr. Childs inserts this significant sentence, "Very few members of Congress criticize REA directly." And he calls attention to the fact that Governor Dewey told a St. Paul audience in 1948 that the Eightieth Congress had "voted by far the largest amount ever provided by any Congress to speed electricity to our farms—$800,000,000."

So although Republicans assail subsidies in general, Mr. Republican justifies subsidies to electrify farms. And although the Republicans lambast government spending in the abstract, the last Presidential nominee of the Republican Party heralds the many millions invested by a Republican Congress in a program begun by that favorite target of Republican orators, the New Deal.

No man avid for America's highest office is going to have anything except kind words for an agency which has made it possible for farmers to have deep freezes, milking machines, and automatic coffee-makers. Louis Bromfield has said that farm production is dropping per acre, and, in Mr. Childs's words, "electricity made the greatest aid in increasing farm production since the introduction of Eli Whitney's cotton gin."

This useful book, which opens with a challenging introduction by Senator

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George D. Aiken, Republican of Vermont, would be even more useful if the publishers had included an index. Why limit a book's survival powers by denying it the compass on which so many researchers rely?

RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

A Guide to Gogol

NIKOLAI GOGOL (1809-1852). A Centenary Survey. By Janko Lavrin. Distributed by the Macmillan Company. $2.50,

AS A tribute to the genius of Gogol, a hundred years after his death, Professor Lavrin's brief survey of his life and work is welcome since it is almost the only notice anyone has taken of the event. It is welcome also in that it raises the number of books in English about Gogol to almost half a dozen. The most available of the earlier studies is by Vladimir Nabokov (issued by New Directions in 1944) and should be read as a supplement to Professor Lavrin's book which will be the one most likely to lead a reader to Gogol's work. After Gogol one should perhaps turn to Nabokov to prepare for a reconsideration.

The current study, pursuing a rather cautious academic path, offers sketches of biographical data, of all the stories and plays, and of psychological interpretations. Professor Lavrin follows generally accepted criteria; whereas Nabokov, in a breezy style of his own, analyzes Gogol's artistry and intentions in ways which, if sometimes open to question, are fresh and individual, and in doing so he dismisses some widely accepted theories. (He is wrong, I think, in rejecting the symbolism of impotence which Professor Lavrin points up as suffusing much of Gogol's work.)

Since this study is useful as a handbook or an introduction and was so intended, it would hardly be just to complain that it does not go deep enough. At the same time, more attention could have been devoted to Gogol's artistry, perhaps, by reducing the length of the synopses. There are, however, rather full accounts of Gogol's early life and his pathetic last years when the drive of his Messiah complex destroyed his talent and revealed to him at last its innate shallowness.

Between these two unhappy periods of inner conflict came the great fiction "Dead Souls," the caustic play "The Inspector General," two fine stories, and many others of less merit. As the important work of a lifetime, such a list seems meager unless one knows the quality of the writing; then one is aware that it presents a rich mine for critics. Professor Lavrin's survey indicates the diversity of wealth to be found in Gogol.

HUBERT CREEKMORE

Man Alone

THE WORKS OF LOVE. By Wright Morris. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.

WRIGHT MORRIS'S new novel is about loneliness. He understands profoundly how comical it can be in the busiest country in the world, and how touching too. I should say that he has demonstrated by now that he is unrivaled as an interpreter of those tangents of the American scene where the funny and the pathetic collide, and that there is wanting only the warm narrative flow that has been mastered by lesser novelists, to make his writing transcendently powerful and important.

Will Jennings Brady, the man in search of love, the only "actual" person in the book, is born in a sod house on the Western frontier to a lonely silent father and a mother who has been ordered through the mails. Both of them die before Will is very old. He is successively assistant stationmaster, night clerk in a small-town hotel, chicken-and-egg merchant, sorter of way bills in the Chicago freight yards, and finally Santa Claus at Montgomery Ward's. This "man who was more or less by himself" acquires several wives, mostly prostitutes, along the way, and a son to boot, although the son is not really his; but in the end he is left quite alone, reading a soiled old letter from his "son" to anyone who will listen.

In each incarnation Will Brady is seen in a kind of classic pose of that loneliness that is nowadays classified as alienation, groping blindly for a love that will not reveal itself to him. It is a pose that we recognize at once, not alone from our own experience, but from our lessons in Sherwood Anderson and, less obviously, in William Faulkner, in those pages where Faulkner rages at the fate of men corrupted and despoiled of their basic human attributes as they are separated from nature and overwhelmed by an inhuman technology.

But Morris does not rage. Neither does he weep. His compassionate gaze is more like that of Charlie Chaplin, and Will Jennings Brady, seated amid the hotel lobby's potted palms, waiting for a miracle like so many of his fellow-citizens, is a close relative of the Charlie who summons up a sweet and sickly grin as he nerves himself to approach the blind flower girl.

Mr. Morris's technique, however—he is a distinguished photographer as well as a novelist—is just the reverse of that of Chaplin, who leads us from the general to the particular, as his symbolic

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and nameless types become identified to us through their universally recognizable behavior. Mr. Morris moves relentlessly from the particular to the general, naming everything that the eye can see, superficially in the manner of the naturalistic novelists but actually in the service of a wider frame of reference, of a brilliantly defined reality that gradually takes on the characteristics of a singular myth akin to Chaplin's. Will Brady's boy does not merely chew gum: "A wad of Black Jack chewing gum was being saved on the bridge of his nose," and the brand name has a significance beyond its use as label, reminding us specifically of a time when Black Jack had a peculiarly valued place in the small boy's vocabulary.

In Will Brady's final room, at 218 Menomonee Street in Chicago, on the other hand: "On the mantelpiece was a shaving mug with the word SWEETHEART in silver, blue, chipped red, and gold. In the mug were three buttons, a rollerskate key, a needle with a burned point for opening pimples, an Omaha streetcar token, and a medal for buying Buster Brown shoes." Here the cataloguing leads us back through a lifetime of desolation and forward to Will Brady's final effort to find something more real than buttons, keys, and medals.

The individual tableaux through which Will Brady proceeds in a series of trance-like movements oddly similar to Charlie's jerky encounters with brutes, fat men, millionaires, beautiful girls, and so on, are masterfully executed as true comedy and as the products of an original vision of American life. But they are discrete scenes, without the flow of life from episode to episode that makes Chaplin's films such completely resolved works of art. It is as if we were given a series of separate stills and asked to make the essential connections.

This is a serious criticism to make of a writer who is demonstrating with each new book that he belongs in the small company of creative men who see the world through their own eyes as it has never quite been seen before. But it is one that cannot be avoided, and there is surely hope that Mr. Morris will be able to couple his unique vision with that quality of movement which enables the reader not only to find himself, as he does in Mr. Morris's novels, but to lose himself as well. HARVEY SWADOS

An Educator's Philosophy

JOHN DEWEY: THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE DEMOCRATIC LIFE. By Jerome Nathanson. Charles Scribner's Sons. $2.

NOW that John Dewey's satisfying and enormously rich life has closed, there will be a plethora of articles about him in an attempt to assess his impact, the imprint he left on so many fundamental aspects of our culture.

Jerome Nathanson's book should take its place, among the handful of works about Dewey, as a summing-up, a final accounting. Written with Dewey's approval and encouragement, it treats in succinct fashion the major problems the philosopher and educator posed himself through a long and unfailingly productive life. Not only is Nathanson's book the latest to appear about his subject, it is the most direct, the least abstruse. And its limitations are caused by the conscious exclusion of topics which lead away from a discussion of Dewey as a political and social thinker.

As the title implies, Nathanson conceives Dewey's greatest role, among the many he played with admirable effect, as a proponent of functioning industrial democracy, as opposed to that society in which business control of the political machine spells, sooner or later, the decline of the very democracy which untrammeled business "freedom" lauds while seeking to abuse it.

Dewey's early training is sketched in: his first contacts with the thought and theories of William James, his encouragement to make a profession of philosophy by W. T. Harris (eventually United States Commissioner of Education), his early acceptance of Hegel and eventual rejection of much that is endemic to Hegelian thought, the emergence of his own pragmatic philosophy in which he drew sustenance from such native thinkers as Peirce, Emerson, and James.

Among the main contributions of Dewey's thought, which will affect literally millions of people who may never know his name, is surely his concept that education has as its aim to create on the broadest possible scale "man thinking," to encourage the individual not to ape in his thinking the attitudes and prejudices of a civilization other than his own, but to strive for a fusion of the critical and speculative faculties with the practical, common-sense qualities by which the individual copes with the problem of his own survival. Along these lines, Dewey, in his work as head of the Department of Education at Columbia University, fostered the progressive-school movement which, though recently meeting with some blindly bitter and partially justified rebuke, has been the great liberating force in American education. The aim of Dewey's educative process was to help the individual to learn by doing, to respect the day's work (or study or play), rather than to regard the entire educational span as a preparatory period, a waiting for the future when all the miscellaneous "learning" would be put to work.

He has been criticized on the grounds that his empirical method limits the educational horizon to those strictly practical fields in which, at each age level, the student can function with competence by himself, and does not include enough challenge, enough encouragement for the unusual or gifted. The answer Dewey gave to concerted attacks against his work by leading educators in 1944 —that the system whereby those who could were to study "higher subjects" while the mass, by implication of inferior stripe, were to be relegated to the study of practical subjects—was that "liberal education for a small elite group and vocational education for the masses [was] completely reactionary and . . . fatal to the whole democratic outlook."

Aside from Dewey's educational reforms which took concrete shape in the New York school system from 1941 on, his political thinking embraced the fundamental issues of our day and his point of view—consistently progressive, anti-totalitarian and liberal—found expression in his work for a third party. He believed, as Nathanson tells us, that "the answer to our central dilemma, both economically and democratically, lies in responsible participation in cooperative enterprise." This is interventionist thinking at its best: don't leave the political machine in the hands of a few maneuverers who will see to it that the ball falls in their chosen slot. In line with this, Dewey voiced the axiomatic slogan, "Vote for the man and not the machine."

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His political thinking is traced and related to his philosophy and educational system, in this short book, so that one even moderately familiar with Dewey finds links which complete the picture. For those who know his name and little of his work beyond the titles of his best known books, Nathanson can be an invaluable, modest guide.

The book is completed by a chronology of major events in Dewey's life and by a short bibliography of works about Dewey to which the present must be added as the most unassuming and generally useful yet on record.

FRANCES KEENE

Verse Chronicle

THE jacket says that "The Suburb by the Sea" by Robert Hillyer (Knopf, $3) is "very different from the sustained magnificence of Mr. Hillyer's preceding volume, "The Death of Captain Nemo." "Sustained magnificence" is not exactly the way I recollect it, but "very different" is dead right. And a good thing too. How pleasant it would be if we could remember Mr. Hillyer for only such work as this, free from anxiety, free from rancor, easy, good-natured, skilful, almost courtly, alive to and with the good things of life! Among other excellencies, Mr. Hillyer is to be commended for his knack with the five-beat couplet form, whose return it is cheering to find.

Also pleasant, in somewhat the same genre, more ambitious some ways, less adroit in others, are the poems in "The Enchanted Grindstone" by Henry Morton Robinson (Simon & Schuster, $2.50). It is, if not surprising, encouraging, to have this great rich house publishing verse; and now may we look forward to the time when Essandess will issue books of equal merit whose authors have not achieved best-selling novels? That will be the day.

In humbler vein, "Waters Over Linn Creek Town" by Ralph Alan McCanse (Bookman Associates, $2.50) is folksy verse, unpretentious in craftsmanship, simple, and good, in the emotion that prompts and pervades it. The narrative tells what happens to people when progress happens to them, in this particular case, who the people were and what became of them when a power company saw fit to build a big dam in a county of the Ozarks. There is little crying about it, though there is some sadness; this is what happened.

Both Peter Viereck and Dylan Thomas say they think "Impatient Lover" by Lillian Rockwell (Dial, $2.50) is very interesting. I do too, and I guess my favorite line is that one that exclaims "O quiver of duck-wings in my gelatinous pond!" That the author can sustain such heights is hardly to be expected, but she gives it a mighty good try. "Foamed with spray of floating breasts / (alike, confetti-spun!) / He sought his oneness with them all, / With all the breasts." Wow.

Shame on my ignorance! Until The Muses' Library sent his complete works, edited by Dorothy Broughton ($3), I had never heard of William Diaper, or at least had paid no attention to Swift's five references to him in the Journal of Stella. Those readers of *The Nation* who are better informed about his poems Brent, The Sea Eclogues, and Dryades, or The Nymph's Prophecy, as well as his translations and imitations, will find this, like most of the volumes in this series, a handy, interesting, and scholarly item.

Some books about poetry and poets might be mentioned this time. "The Background of Modern Poetry" by J. Isaacs (Dutton, $2.50) expands on remarks previously addressed, through the BBC's Third Program, to an audience capable of having its prejudices removed and its misconceptions corrected. Professor Isaacs is not overly sympathetic with those who profess and call themselves moderns; not exactly light, his study is fairly quick reading. Much more thoroughgoing is the study by an American professor, Harold Watts of Purdue, "Ezra Pound and the Cantos" (Regnery, $2.75). This firm appears to be seriously interested in bringing out worthwhile books of criticism. Putting the best possible face (though in an annoyingly parenthetical style) on the integrity and integration of the Cantos, Professor Watts, in his final chapter of reckoning, concedes that they are probably not quite all the author cracked them up to be. Hardly a week goes by, now, without something about Rilke rolling off the presses; this time it is "Rainer Maria Rilke: His Life and Work" by a Dutch scholar, F. W. Van Heerikhuizen (Philosophical Library, $6). Interesting in its early chapters, the book thereafter is most pedestrian; too many long quotations from Rilke's more solemncholy letters. M. Van Heerikhuizen is at times, justifiably, a little impatient with Rilke's insistence on dedication, and, less justifiably, it seems to me, inclined to overvalue some of the earlier poems.

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"The Metaphysical Passion" by Sona Raiziss (University of Pennsylvania Press, $5) purports to be a study of seven modern poets—Eliot, Tate, Warren, Ransom, MacLeish, Wylie, Crane—and the seventeenth-century tradition. Miss Raiziss's prose style is all but unreadable; nevertheless, her book must have taken an awful lot of work.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

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Records

B. H. HAGGIN

HAYDN'S Quartets Opus 77, two of the finest of the series, which were recently issued by the Haydn Society as played by the Schneider Quartet, are now issued by EMS as played by the Heifetz Quartet. This is a group of highly competent and experienced ensemble musicians (I do not, as a statement on the envelope might lead one to think, consider them "the finest chamber music artists available today"); and their performances are good. The Schneider performances, however, bring out and point up more of the rich detail of the progressions, and are better-paced. The recorded sound of the Heifetz performances, like that of the Schneider, requires reduction of treble, to minimum in No. 1. Unlike the Schneider performances they are on two sides of one record.

Elman's playing in Mozart's Violin Sonata K.454, on an RCA Victor record, is simple but stolid and a little shrill-toned; Rose's piano-playing is wooden. Menuhin's playing in the engaging Schubert Duo Opus 162, on another Victor record, is more straightforward than in the past, and his tone more compact though still coarse; Baller's piano-playing is very good. Beethoven's Sonatas Opus 12 No. 3 and Opus 23, which I find uninteresting, are well played by Francescatti and Casadesus on a Columbia record; the violin sound is a little sharp.

Weber's Grand Duo Concertante Opus 48 for clarinet and piano, issued by WCFM, has his characteristic grace and charm; the Variations Opus 33 are mostly less interesting. The performances by Sidney Forrest and Leonid Hambro are excellent; bass needs to be stepped up.

Rehearing Schubert's Impromptus after a long interval I have been newly impressed by what fine pieces of music most of them are. But Firkusny's playing on the Columbia record has again impressed me with its lack of cohesive tension and consequently of sharpness of outline and organic coherence and power. Bass needs stepping up.

Haydn's Symphony No. 103 ("Drum Roll"), one of the best of the London group, is played well by Münch with the Boston Symphony (but an uncustomary and, I believe, questionable treatment of an appoggiatura note strikes the ear several times in the first movement). On the same Victor record is Beethoven's First Symphony, also well played. The sound isn't always clean.

The Dittersdorf Symphony in A minor on a Lyrichord record I find uninteresting; the performance by Erich Kloss with the Frankenland State Symphony is good.

The Suite from Rimsky-Korsakov's "Le Coq d'or" played by Golovanov with the State Radio Orchestra of the U. S. S. R. on a Vanguard record is described as "uncut"; but I can discover nothing in it that isn't on the recent Capitol record of Desormière's performance. What the Vanguard record does offer is innovations in tempo and accentuation which make me prefer the Capitol performance even though it is reproduced with less than the remarkable clarity and distinctness of the Vanguard. Golovanov also conducts a noisy-sounding performance of Musorgsky's "Night on Bald Mountain."

Vanguard has issued the first recorded performance of Bloch's "Israel" Symphony. The work is characteristic in idiom and in its whipping up of climaxes that subside into brooding quiet; but its substance and development don't add up, for me, to one of the more impressive Bloch achievements. The performance by Litschauer with

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the Vienna State Opera Orchestra and soloists of the Akademiechor (including a superb contralto) is excellent.

Several songs by Haydn, ranging from pleasant to the fine "She Never Told Her Love," are sung well on a WCFM record by Tii Niemela, soprano, with pallid accompaniments by Pentti Koskimies. In some songs of Schubert one is occasionally aware of the voice's insufficient sensuous beauty. Texts are provided.

On a Victor record Erna Berger employs her cool, clear soprano voice in a few charming songs by Mozart and Schubert's "Haidenröslein," with delicate accompaniments by George Schick. Texts are provided.

Beethoven's "An die ferne Geliebte" is sung very beautifully by Mack Harrell, baritone, with discreet accompaniments by Coenraad Bos, on two Victor 45's. Only English translations this time.

And all of Chopin's songs—early pieces, some of them engagingly melodious, and with no resemblance that I can hear to the works of his maturity for piano—are sung beautifully by Maria Kurenko in Polish, with good accompaniments by Robert Hufstader, on a Lyrichord record. English summaries.

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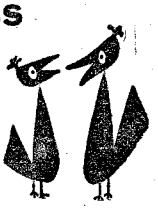

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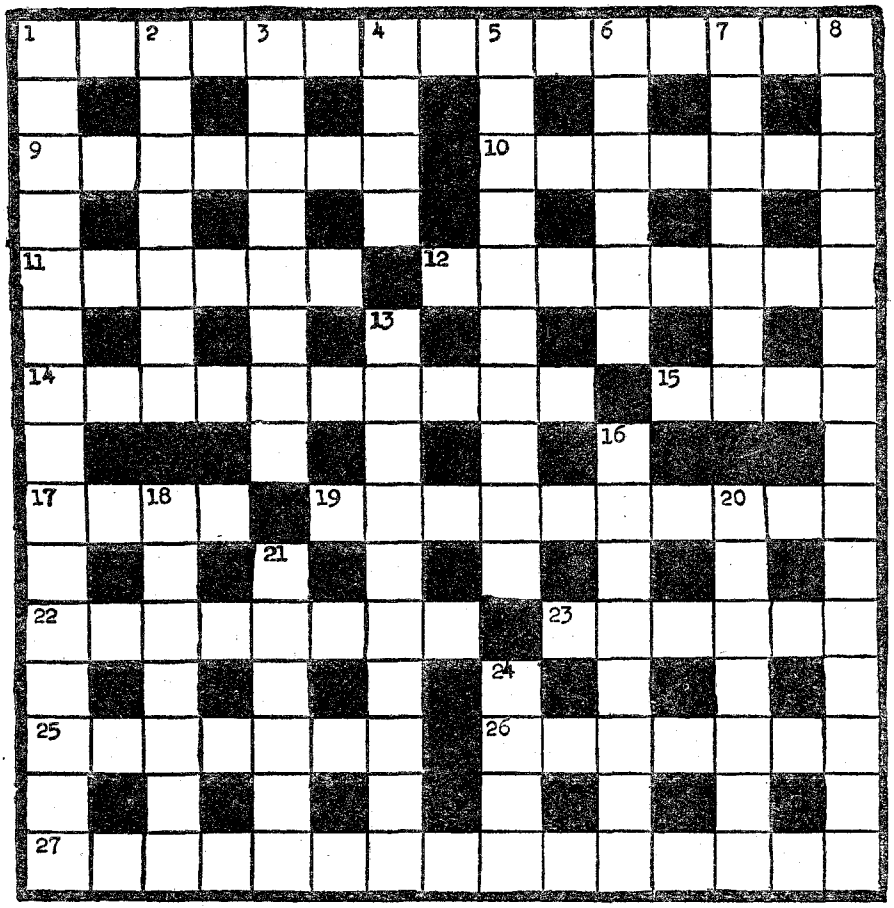
Crossword Puzzle No. 469

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 It might be that it's too hot! (6, 9)
9 Demanded, very precisely? (7)
10 Photo-finish? (Most agree this band shouldn't be too loud.) (7)
11 Just the bean to fool a marshal! (6)
12 What some people go through to get a ticket! (3, 5)
14 The point of reference to a sluggard is filled with it! (6, 4)
15 Is the boudoir a queer place to look for land? (4)
17 The vehicle of the uninspired writer? (4)
19 Blast them! A phony fight! (4, 6)
22 Is a G. I. driven to reasoning? (8)
23 Stone the Northern army used to snare Johnny Reb? (6)
25 All is not well between the head of the army and a tropical climber. (7)
26 Clause that introduces a condition. (7)
27 The Mormons made it stand last year. (6, 3, 6)

DOWN

1 How to raise the Dickens? (5, 2, 3, 5)
2 I and my girl wander objectively, but without aspiration. (7)
3 Characterized by love of beauty in its simpler form. (8)
4 The one of Hammurabi isn't top secret. (4)
5 Do they imply an eccentric bearing? (10)
6 The place for other than an express letter of efficiency. (6)
7 A number might be associated with Latin lives, if you're fond of college songs. (7)
8 Who? What? When? Why? Where? (Repeat three times!) (6, 9)
13 What the palmist requires is usually an asset! (4, 2, 4)
16 The curve of a Gaucho weapon made of rubber? (8)
18 "Kind hearts are more than _____s"—(Tennyson) (7)
20 If you recognize the strain, it's written in notes you can see. (7)
21 Lithe. (6)
24 Fat, but active? (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 468

ACROSS:—1 RAIN-IN-THE-FACE; 10 INHUMAN; 11 CANASTA; 12 RESISTERS; 13 SHAYS; 14 FABIAN; 16 REFINISH; 19 ENSCONCE; 20 AGNAIL; 22 SLIGO 23 UNSECURED; 25 REALIST; 26 TROTSKY; 27 NORTH CAROLINA.

DOWN:—2 ACHES; 3 NUMISMATOLOGIST; 4 NANTES; 5 HUCKSTER; 6 FINISHING SCHOOL; 7 COSTA RICA; 8 AIR RIFLE; 9 BATS; 15 BASTINADO; 17 HOLIDAYS; 21 ISHTAR; 22 SURF; 24 ROSIN.

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The last issue exposes the spy network of the **Anti-Defamation League.** It also contains **The Chiropractic Story; Jim Peck's** report on stockholders' meetings; and the inside story of immorality in South America told by a priest who has left the church.

The issue before that contains **George Seldes'** exciting report on his interviews with Tito. **The Boston Catholic Heresy** case is explored in detail. The Herald Tribune is exposed for its whitewash of the du Ponts.

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